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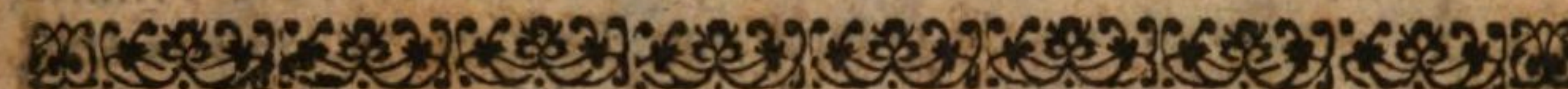
544⁰

Howe

John.

BOOK 2 printed for and sold by S. A. M.
CHANDLER at the Cross-Keys in the
Parish.

1. The first sermon containing the Doctrine of the Trinity.



2. The second sermon containing the Doctrine of the Trinity.
the supposition of his being genuine: in both sermons preached
in the same place.

3. The third sermon containing the Doctrine of the Trinity.
non sermons preached in the same place.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

Of the Late

Rev. Mr. John Howe.

the first sermon containing the Doctrine of the Trinity.
the supposition of his being genuine: in both sermons preached
in the same place.



2. The second sermon containing the Doctrine of the Trinity.
the supposition of his being genuine: in both sermons preached
in the same place.

*BOOKS printed for and sold by SAM.
CHANDLER at the Cross-Keys in the
Poultry.*

1. **T**Hirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity ; preached at the Merchants Lecture at *Salters-Hall*. Together with a Vindication of that celebrated Text, *1 John 5. 7.* from being spurious ; and an Explication of it, upon the supposition of its being genuine : In four Sermons preach'd at the same Lecture, 1719-20.
2. The Ministry of the Dissenters vindicated : In an Ordination Sermon preach'd at *Ailesbury* in the County of *Bucks*, June 11. 1724. publish'd at the unanimous Request of the Ministers that heard it. These two by *Edmund Calamy D. D.*
3. Practical Discourses concerning the Christian Temper : Being thirty eight Sermons upon the principal Heads of practical Religion, especially as enjoined and enforced by Christianity. In two Volumes. Designed for the use of Families: By *John Evans*.
4. Practical Discourses on the principal Representations of the Messiah throughout the Old Testament. By *William Harris*.
5. The Doctrines controverted between Papists and Protestants, particularly and distinctly consider'd : And those which are held by the former confuted. With an Introduction, giving an Account of the Rise and gradual Progress of Popery : And of the decay of it at the Reformation. The whole is concluded with full and entire Answers to some Cavils of the Church of *Rome* against the Protestant Religion and the Professors of it. By the late Reverend *John Edwards, D. D.*
6. A Defence of the Memorial of the Reformation against the Exceptions of *Presbyterian Prejudice display'd* : With a particular Enquiry into the Authors and Abettors of the *Irish Massacre*. A Vindication of *Mr. Baxter* and others, with reference to the Story of the Marquis of *Antrim*, against the Accusations of *Mr. Thomas Cart* of the *Bath*. And a detection of the Forgeries publish'd by *Dr. Hollingsworth*, concerning *Mr. Henderson's Recantation*, and Character of King *Charles*, on his Death-Bed. By *Benj. Bennet*.
7. A Discourse on Secret Prayer, by *Henry Grove*.
8. *Cassiodori Senatoris Complexiones in Epistolas, Acta Apostolorum, & Apocalypsin, E vetustissimis Canonorum Veronensium membranis nuper erutæ. Editio altera. Ad Florentinam fideliter expressa. Opera & cura Samuelis Chandleri.*

J. Halliwell
176e

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

Of the Late

Rev^d. Mr. *John Howe*.

Collected by EDMUND CALAMY D.D.



LONDON:

Printed for SAM. CHANDLER at the Cross-
Keys in the Poultry. 1724.

82.D.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF THE LATE

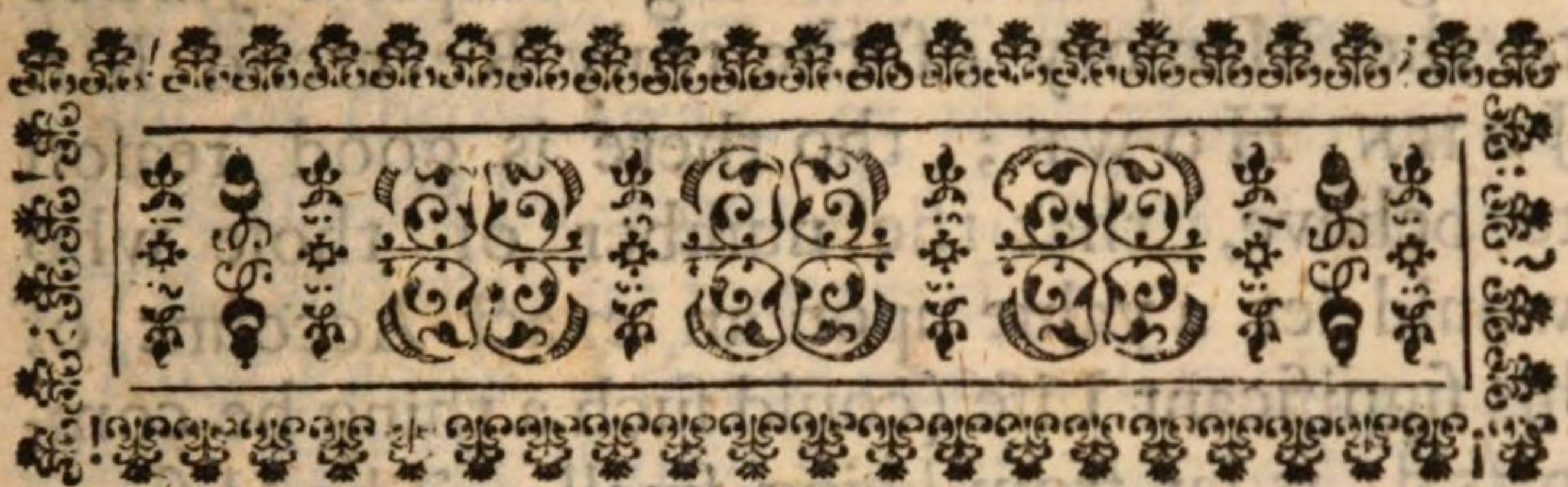
Rev^d. Mr. John Horne.

Collected by EDMUND CALAMY D.D.



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Key in the Tower. 1754.



THE
LIFE
OF
Mr. JOHN HOWE.



THE Lives of Persons of Worth and Eminence, when drawn up with Faithfulness and Care, have been ever thought very entertaining and improving: And where there has been no hope of recovering any exact Account of one of a distinguish'd Character, most People have rather chosen to have some short Memorials of him, than that such Particulars as might be retriev'd, should be altogether bury'd in Oblivion.

It may be question'd whether any one now living, is capable of doing compleat Justice to the Memory of the truly Reverend Mr. JOHN HOWE; tho there is good reason to believe, that the number of those who would set a value upon an exact Account of his significant Life (could such a thing be compass'd) is far from being small. The History of it could not have been drawn up to advantage, by any but himself, or one that had his personal Direction and Assistance; or at least to whom he had given the free Use of his Papers, with a Liberty of transcribing and inserting, what might be likely to give entertainment to the Curious and Inquisitive: Whereas it has unhappily fallen out, that he has been so far from leaving behind him any Directions for such a purpose, or Narrative of the most material Passages of his Life, or Hints of what occur'd in his general and extensive Conversation, or even committing his Papers to the Care of one that was fit to make use of them for the benefit of the Publick, that before his Death he (as we shall hereafter see in the Course of these Memorials of him) destroy'd a number of Writings, that might have afforded good Materials towards the giving a true historical Account of him to after Ages. 'Tis not easy for us to judge what particular Reasons he might have for this part of his Conduct, and therefore it becomes us to be sparing in our
Cen-

Censures : And yet I must own I cannot see, why we that are yet living should hereupon slight or throw away, or they that come after us should be depriv'd of, what is still preserv'd, and may be recover'd.

Most People, I doubt not, will readily conclude, that the World has this way lost, what might have been of no small Use. But after all, partly from the Memories of some to whom he was well known, and whom he admitted to freedom in Conversation; and partly from some Letters and Papers, Copies whereof were carefully preserv'd in the hands of his Relations, Friends, and Acquaintance; and partly also from such Hints and Passages as he has left behind him in the many Writings he has publish'd, such Fragments may be gather'd up, as cannot, I think, but be agreeable to those to whom his Memory is precious. And tho in the Memorials of him that are thus recover'd, there will appear several Gaps which could not be fill'd up; yet are some of the Papers and Things preserv'd so significant, and worthy of notice, that I cannot help expecting to have a good number concurring with me in Opinion, that it would be unhappy for them not to be put together, and preserv'd.

It is no difficult thing to foresee that it will occasion no small regret, in some whose Respect for the Deceased rises high, to find the Account given of one that was so eminent in

his Profession, and who would indeed have shin'd bright in any Station, is so very defective and imperfect: And if it may contribute any thing to their Satisfaction, the Compiler of this Life is free to own, he should have been heartily glad to have been in a capacity of drawing it up, in such a manner as the Subject deserv'd. He himself had that knowledge of Mr. *Howe*, that he can readily say of him, as he did of the celebrated Mr. *Newcome* of *Manchester*, that *they that knew him best, could know but a small part of his true and great Worth, and might always apprehend when they knew most of him, there was still much more that they knew not* *. He laments he could not be better furnish'd with Materials in this Undertaking, to which he was encourag'd, and in which he was assisted by many. And yet having been at considerable pains, in collecting and putting together what is here offer'd to publick View, thinks he may be allow'd to hope, that such defects as are observ'd, will be easily overlook'd, because he can with safety say, it would have been no small Pleasure to him to have been able to have supply'd them; and that any Mistakes he may have run into, will be readily pardon'd, because he would gladly have a-

* Preface to Mr. *Chorlton's* Funeral Sermon for Mr. *Henry Newcome*.

voided them, had he but known how. And if it should so happen, that any into whose Hands these Papers fall, should find some things represented in a manner that may not be suited to their particular Gust, they are desir'd to consider, that the Compiler acted but the part of an Historian, upon the best Informations he could get, which he would not have regarded, if he had not thought them fairly credible: But if any are furnish'd with better Accounts, and better Vouchers, he not only can readily submit, but shall be glad to be favour'd with their Intelligence.

To begin then with the first appearance of this great Man upon this earthly Stage, our Mr. *John Howe* was born *May 17, 1630.* the 29th day of which Month was remarkable for the Nativity of King *Charles II.* and which very Year a few Months after, gave Birth to that excellent Person Archbishop *Tillotson*, with whom Mr. *Howe* in his after Life had a particular intimacy, and uncommon freedom. The place of his Birth was *Loughborough*, a noted Market Town, in the County of *Leicester*; of which Town his Father was for some time the worthy Minister. I have heard his Father commended as a Person of singular Piety and Probity; and his Mother as a Woman of distinguish'd Sense. The Father and this Son of his, were not the only Ministers of the Family. For there was one Mr. *Obadiab Howe* Vicar of

Boston in *Lincolnshire*, who upon several occasions appear'd in print, and dy'd in 1682 †, who was our Mr. *John Howe's* Uncle. There was also one Mr. *William Howe*, of *Gedney* in the same County, that was (I suppose) of the Family, tho I can't be positive how related to him.

As to the Father of our Mr. *Howe*, he was settled in the Parish of *Loughborough* by Archbishop *Land*, and afterwards thrust out by the same Hand, on the account of his siding with the *Puritans*, contrary to the Expectation of his Promoter. He was one of those who could not be satisfy'd to give in to that nice and punctilious Conformity, upon which that Prelate laid so great a stress; and therefore it was not thought fit to suffer him to continue in the exercise of his Ministry in that populous Town. Great was the Rigour that was at that time us'd in the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, by which as several were driven into *America*, and others into *Holland*, and other foreign Parts, so was this worthy Person from whom Mr. *John Howe* immediately descended, driven into *Ireland*, whither he took this his Son (then very young) along with him. While they continu'd in that Country, that execrable *Rebellion* broke out, in which so many thousands of the poor *Protestants*, who were altogether unprovided,

† *Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. pag. 718.*

were so miserably butcher'd, and a great number of flourishing Family's ruin'd and undone, by the enraged *Papists*, whose very tenderest Mercies were found to be Cruelty. Both Father and Son were at that time expos'd to very threatening danger, the place to which they had retir'd being for several weeks together besieg'd and assaulted by the Rebels, tho without Success. A very special Providence did upon this occasion guard that Life, which was afterwards made so serviceable to great and considerable Purposes. Being driven from thence by the War, which continu'd for some Years, the Father return'd back into his native Country, and settled in the County Palatine of *Lancaster*; and there it was that our Mr. *Howe* went thro the first Rudiments of Learning, and was train'd up in the Knowledge of the Tongues, tho I have not been able to get any certain information, who were his particular Instructors, nor any farther notices relating to his Infancy and Childhood.

He was sent pretty early (I can't say exactly in what Year) to *Christ College* in *Cambridge*, where falling among such Persons as Dr. *Henry More*, and Dr. *Cudworth*, of both whom he was a great Admirer, I think it is not to be wondred at, that in his early days he receiv'd that *Platonick* Tincture, which so remarkably runs thro the Writings which he drew up and publish'd in his ad-

vanced years. As for Dr. *More*, there was an intimacy between him and Mr. *Howe*, that continu'd till the Doctor's Death: Which being known to Dr. *Davis* of *Heyden*, (who had the most profound Veneration imaginable for the Doctor) he the more respected Mr. *Howe* upon that account.

He continu'd at *Cambridge* till he took the degree of B. A. and then remov'd to *Oxford*. Mr. *Wood* the Antiquary, says that he was of *Brazen-nose* College in *Oxon*, and Bible Clerk there in *Michaelmas* Term 1648. * and that he there took his Batchelor's Degree Jan. 18. 1649 †. It was a common thing then to take the same Degree in both Universities, and I suppose it is so to this Day.

He follow'd his Studies close; and his great attainments in Learning, join'd with his exemplary Piety, so recommended him, that he was at length duly elected Fellow of *Magdalen College* (of which famous Society he was a bright Ornament) after he had been made *Demy* by the Parliament *Visitors*. Mr. *Wood* mentioning this of the *Visitors*, intends it I suppose as a Reflection: But I must own, that may have been the Case, and yet there may be no just matter of Reflection in it either on them or on him. Not on them; supposing the Person in whose room he suc-

* *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. 2. pag. 1014. † *Fasti Oxon.* pag. 750.

ceeded, deserv'd to be ejected: Nor on him; supposing he did nothing unbecoming, to get into his place, when he was ejected.

He had several Cotemporaries in this College, that afterwards prov'd Non-conformists, as Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, Mr. *Thomas Danson*, Mr. *Samuel Blower*, and Mr. *John Spilsbury*. Of the two first, Mr. *Wood* has given some Account †, among the *Oxford Writers*; as I also have done, in my *Memoirs* of those who were ejected for Nonconformity **: But the two latter are wholly omitted by Mr. *Wood*, tho they were both of them *Oxonians*, and both of them Graduates, because they were not Writers. Mr. *Blower*, who dy'd Pastor of a Congregation of Dissenters in the Town of *Abingdon* in the County of *Berks* ††, was often us'd to say with Pleasure, when Mr. *Howe* was at any time spoken of in his Company, that they two were born in the same Town, went to the same School, and were of the same College in the University. And Mr. *Spilsbury*, who was ejected for Non-conformity from *Bromsgrove* in *Worcestershire* ††, was one with whom Mr. *Howe* kept up a most intimate and endearing Correspondence by Letter to his dying Day.

† Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. pag. 608, 1016. ** Abridg. Vol. 2. pag. 64, 648. †† Abridg. Vol. 2. p. 542. †† Abridg. Vol. 2. p. 772.

I might also mention two others, who were Fellows of the same College, who were ejected in 1662. whom Mr. *Wood* wholly overlooks, viz. Mr. *George Porter* * and Mr. *James Ashhurst* †, who dy'd at *Newington-Green*, near *London*. It is true they were neither of them Writers, and yet they were both Graduates, the former being B. D. and the latter M. A. and therefore some notice ought to have been taken of them in his *Fasti*. Such things as these make me apprehend that that Author designedly omitted several of the *Nonconformists*, for fear their number should have appear'd too large and considerable.

The famous Dr. *Thomas Goodwin* was President of the College, at the same time that Mr. *Howe* and the others whom I have now mention'd were Fellows. He had a gather'd Church among the Scholars of that House, and finding Mr. *Howe* who had an establish'd Reputation among them, did not offer himself to join with them, he took an occasion to speak to him about it, when they two were by themselves, without any other Company with them; and signify'd his surprize that one of his Character for ferious Piety, should not embrace such an opportunity of Christian Fellowship, which might be likely to have many good Consequences attending it. Mr. *Howe*

* Abridg. Vol. 2. p. 70.

† Ib. p. 71.

with great frankness told him, that the true and only reason why he had been so silent about that matter, was because he understood they laid a considerable stress among them, upon some distinguishing Peculiarities, of which he had no fondness, tho he could give others their Liberty to take their own way, without censuring them, or having any unkind thoughts of them; but that if they would admit him into their Society upon *Catholick Terms*, he would readily become one of them. The Doctor embrac'd him, and told him he would do it with all his Heart; and that to his knowledge, it would be much to the Satisfaction and Edification of all that were concern'd: and he thereupon became a Member of that Society. It is with no small Pleasure that I relate this Passage, which is a Proof that Dr. *Goodwin* was not so narrow and confin'd in his Temper and Principles, as some People have represented him.

Mr. *Howe's* Promotion and Reputation in the College, and thro the University, added new Spurs to his Diligence and Application, which was so great, that he furnish'd himself with a large Fund of Rational and Theological Learning, the Fruits whereof were very conspicuous in his following Life. He took the Degree of M. A. *July 9, 1652* ‡; Mr.

‡ *Fasti Oxon.* p. 99.

Theophilus Gale, his fellow Collegiate, whom I was mentioning but now, having taken the very same Degree but the Month before. And by this time he had not only gone thro a Course of Philosophy, convers'd closely with the *Heathen Moralists*, read over the Accounts we have remaining of *Pagan Theology*, the Writings of the *School-men*, and several Systems and common Places of the *Reformers*, and the Divines that succeeded them, but (as he himself signify'd to one from whom I had it) had thoroughly study'd the sacred Scriptures, and from thence drawn up a Body of Divinity for himself and his own use, which he saw very little occasion afterwards to vary from, in compliance with the Schemes of others.

After his taking his last Degree, Mr. *Howe* became a Preacher, and was ordain'd by Mr. *Charles Herle* at his Church of *Winwick* in *Lancashire*, which Mr. *Wood* says is one of the richest Churches in the Kingdom. This Mr. *Herle* was a very noted Man in those times; and upon the Death of Dr. *Twisse*, was chosen Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*. In his Parish there were several Chappelrys, and the Ministers that officiated in them, assisted at Mr. *Howe's* Ordination. And he would often say that this Mr. *Herle* was a Primitive Bishop, and the Assistants in his several Chappels were his Clergy; and they joining in laying on hands

hands upon him, he thought few in modern Times had so truly primitive an Ordination as he. And Mr. *Howe* always spoke of this Mr. *Herle* with a very great and particular Respect.

Some time after, by an unexpected Conduct of Divine Providence, he was called to the stated Exercise of his Ministry in the Town of *Great Torrington*, in the County of *Devon*. Dr. *Walker* * tells us that this Place is a sort of Donative or Curacy, belonging to *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, but deem'd equivalent to one held by Institution. He says that Mr. *Theophilus Powel* was turn'd out here about 1646, and was succeeded by the famous Independent Mr. *Lewis Stukely*; and after him came Mr. *Howe*.

He was but young at the time of his first settlement in that Town, and yet even there did he wonderfully fulfil his Ministry, and his Labours were bless'd with great Success. When he first came thither, several of the Inhabitants were Members of the Congregational Church at *Biddeford*, of which Mr. *William Bartlett* † was Pastor, who had been Mr. *Howe*'s particular Acquaintance at *Oxford*. Being weary of the fatigue of going five or six Miles every Sacrament Day, and dispos'd to sit down under Mr. *Howe*'s Ministry, these People desir'd a dismission

* Attempt, Part 2, p. 329. † See Abridg. Vol. 2, p. 240.
from

from the Church at *Biddeford*, and Mr. *Bartlet* readily resign'd them to Mr. *Howe*, in whom there was a general Concurrence; and he had a numerous Auditory, and a very flourishing Christian Society under his Pastoral Care, and thought of no other, than of living and dying with them.

I shan't easily forget the Account he once gave me in private Conversation, of the great Pains he took among them, without any help or assistance, on the Publick Fasts, which in those days return'd pretty frequently, and were generally kept with very great Solemnity. He told me it was upon those Occasions his common way, to begin about nine in the Morning, with a Prayer for about a quarter of an Hour, in which he begg'd a Blessing on the Work of the Day; and afterwards read and expounded a Chapter or Psalm, in which he spent about three quarters; then pray'd for about an Hour, preach'd for another Hour, and pray'd for about half an Hour. After this, he retir'd, and took some little refreshment for about a quarter of an Hour or more, (the People singing all the while) and then came again into the Pulpit, and pray'd for another Hour, and gave them another Sermon of about an Hour's length; and so concluded the Service of the Day, at about four of the Clock in the Evening, with about half an Hour or more in Prayer: A sort of Service that few could have gone thro,

thro, without inexpressible weariness both to themselves and their Auditories! But he had a strong Head, a warm Heart, and a good bodily Constitution: And the more he spent himself in his Master's Service, the more was he belov'd by the Inhabitants of his Parish.

While he continu'd his painful Labours in this Town, he kept up a good Correspondence with the Ministers in the Neighbourhood, and all over the Country, and was greatly esteem'd: But there was a particular Intimacy between him and the famous Mr. *George Hughes* of *Plymouth*, † who made a greater Figure, and had a greater Interest and Influence than most of the Ministers in those Parts; and he was married to his Daughter *March 1. 1654*. These two kept up a weekly mutual Correspondence by *Latin* Letters, and I have a memorable Passage to relate as to one of them. Mr. *Howe* happen'd to have a Fire in his House at *Torrington*, which might have been ruinous to his Family, if a violent Rain which fell just at that time, had not contributed greatly to extinguish it. On that very Day it so fell out that he receiv'd a Letter from his Father *Hughes*, which concluded with this Prayer; *Sit Ros Cæli super Habitaculum vestrum*: Let the Dew of Heaven be upon your Dwelling: Which

† See Abridg, Vol. 2. p. 222.

was a Prayer, the seasonableness of which for his Children in the Letter of it, the good Man could not apprehend at the time of Writing; but they could not but affectionately remark it, at the Receipt of it.

Sometime after (I cannot with certainty say how long) Mr. *Howe* having occasion to take a Journey to *London*, was detain'd there longer than he intended. He had the Curiosity to go one Lord's-day (and it was on the last that he design'd to continue in Town) to be an Auditor at the Chappel at *Whitehall*; but I can't meet with any one that can with certainty recollect, who was to be that day the Preacher. *Cromwel*, who generally had his Eyes every where, spy'd out Mr. *Howe* in the Auditory, and knew him by his Garb to be a Country Minister, and thought he discern'd something more than ordinary in his Countenance, and sent a Messenger to him to desire to speak with him when the Worship of God was over. Upon his coming to him, *Cromwel* requested him to preach before him the Lord's-Day following. Mr. *Howe* was surpriz'd with the unexpected motion, and modestly desir'd to be excus'd. *Cromwel* told him it was a vain thing to attempt to excuse himself, for that he would take no denial. Mr. *Howe* pleaded, that having dispatch'd what Business he had in Town, he was tending homewards, and could not be absent any longer without inconvenience.

Crom-

Cromwel inquir'd what great damage he was liable to sustain, by tarrying a little longer? Mr. *Howe* replied, that his People, that were very kind to him, would be uneasy, and think he neglected them, and slighted their Respect. *Cromwel* promis'd to write to them himself, and to send down one to supply his Place, and actually did so; and Mr. *Howe* staid and preach'd as he was desir'd: And when he had given him one Sermon, *Cromwel* still press'd for a second and a third; and at last after a great deal of free Conversation in private, nothing would serve him (who could not bear to be contradicted, after he had once got the Power into his hands) but he must have him to be his Household Chaplain, and he would take care his place should be supply'd at *Torrington* to the full satisfaction of the People. Mr. *Howe* did all that lay in his power to excuse himself and get off; but no denial would be admitted. And at length (tho not without great reluctance) he was prevail'd with to comply, and remove with his Family to *Whitehall*, where several of his Children were born: And in this difficult Station, he endeavour'd to be faithful, and to keep a good Conscience. And this I suppose is the time, when as Mr. *Wood* informs us, † he became Lecturer of *St. Margarets Church* in *Westminster*. Cer-

† *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 1014.

tain it is, that he was then a celebrated Preacher, and generally respected: And it has been observ'd by several, that there was hardly any Man that was in an eminent publick Station in those critical Times, and that was admitted to the knowledge of so many Secrets as he, that was so free from Censure, in the Changes that afterwards succeeded. A plain Argument of uncommon Conduct and Caution!

Never can I find him so much as charg'd, even by those that have been most forward to inveigh against a number of his Contemporaries, with improving his Interest in those who then had the management of Affairs in their hands, either to the enriching himself, or the doing ill Offices to others, tho of known differing Sentiments. He readily embrac'd every occasion that offer'd, of serving the Interest of Religion and Learning, and opposing the Errors and Designs, which at that time threaten'd both. Among many Instances of his generous Temper, I shall mention one, which was his seasonable Service to Dr. *Seth Ward*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Sarum*, successively. The Case in short was this. In 1657, that Gentleman, who had succeeded Mr. *John Greaves* sometime before, as Astronomy Professor in the University of *Oxon*, stood Candidate for the Principalship of *Jesus College* in the same University, upon the Resignation of Dr. *Michael Roberts*.

Dr.

Dr. *Ward* had the majority of the Fellows for him; but Mr. *Francis Howell* of *Exeter College*, made an Interest in the Protector *Cromwel*, and obtain'd his promise for the filling up that Vacancy. Dr. *Ward* not knowing that matters had gone so far, was for making an Interest in the Protector too, and in order to it apply'd to Mr. *Howe*, who, without making great promises as to Success, readily offer'd to introduce him to the Protector, and do him what service he was able. Having obtain'd an Audience, and they three being together, Mr. *Howe* gave *Cromwel* a great Character of Dr. *Ward*, with respect to his Learning, and signify'd how ill it would sound, if a Man of his known merit should be discountenanc'd; especially when he had the majority of the Fellows on his side. *Cromwel* reply'd, that Dr. *Roberts* having resign'd his Principallship into his Hands, he had been inform'd that it was his right to fill up the Vacancy; and he had given his promise to Mr. *Howel*, and could not draw back. But immediately taking Mr. *Howe* aside, and discoursing him freely about Dr. *Ward*, and he telling him that in his apprehension it would be much for his Honour to do something for the Doctor, and that he would thereby encourage Men of Merit and Learning, he return'd to Dr. *Ward*, who continu'd waiting, and told him that he found Mr. *Howe* to be much his Friend, and was upon his re-

port of him dispos'd to give him some Tokens of his Regard: And thereupon he pleasantly ask'd him what he thought the Principallship of *Jesus College* might be worth? the Doctor freely told him what was the Value of it according to common computation. And thereupon he gave the Doctor a promise, that he would allow him the sum that he mention'd annually. This was at that time reckon'd a seasonable Kindness: And the Doctor express'd his grateful sense of it to Mr. *Howe* some time after, when upon the change of the Times he became a greater Man.

There were many others to whom Mr. *Howe* was very serviceable while he continued at *Whitehall*: and never was he known to be backward to assist any of the Royalists or Episcopals in Distress, if they were but Persons of real merit. He befriended several with his Advice and Interest upon their being oblig'd to appear before the *Triers*, in order to the having their Approbation before their being allow'd to officiate in publick as Ministers. Among the rest that apply'd to him for Advice upon that occasion, the celebrated Dr. *Thomas Fuller*, who is so well known by his punning Writings, was one. That Gentleman, who was generally upon the merry Pin, being to take his turn before these *Triers*, of whom he had a very formidable Notion, thus accosted Mr. *Howe*, when he apply'd to him for Advice. Sir,
said

said he, you may observe I am a pretty corpulent Man, and I am to go thro a Passage that is very strait, I beg you would be so kind as to give me a shove, and help me thro. He freely gave him his Advice, and he promis'd to follow it; and when he appeared before them, and they propos'd to him the usual Question, Whether he had ever had any Experience of a Work of Grace upon his Heart? he gave this in for Answer, that he could appeal to the Searcher of Hearts, that he made Conscience of his very Thoughts; with which Answer they were satisfy'd, as indeed they well might.

In short, so generous was Mr. *Howe*, in using his Interest on the behalf of Persons of any worth that apply'd to him, that I have been inform'd *Cromwel* once freely told him, that he had obtain'd many Favours for others; but says he, I wonder when the time is to come that you will move for any thing for yourself, or your Family. A plain Argument that he took him for a very disinterested Person, and as free from Selfishness as he was from Partiality.

And here I know not how to forbear mentioning a Passage that I had from Mr. *Howe's* own Mouth, when I had the Happiness of some Hours free Conversation with him, without any interruption. I had heard from several, (and it had been confirm'd to me by Mr. *Jeremy White*, who liv'd at

Whitehall at the very same time with Mr. *Howe*) that the Notion of a *particular Faith* in Prayer, prevail'd much in *Cromwel's* Court; and that it was a common Opinion among them, that such as were in a special manner favour'd of God, when they offer'd up Prayers and Supplications to him for his Mercies, either for themselves or others, often had such Impressions made upon their Minds and Spirits by a Divine Hand, as signify'd to them, not only in the general that their Prayers would be heard, and graciously answer'd, but that the particular Mercies that were sought for, would be certainly bestow'd; nay, and sometimes also intimated to them in what way and manner they would be afforded, and pointed out to them future Events beforehand, which in reality is the same with Inspiration. Having heard of mischief done by the Prevalence of this Notion, I took the opportunity that offer'd, when there was nothing to hinder the utmost freedom, to enquire of Mr. *Howe*, what he had known about this matter, and what were his Apprehensions concerning it? He told me the Prevalence of the Notion that I mention'd at *Whitehall*, at the time when he liv'd there, was too notorious to be call'd in question; and that not a little Pains was taken to cultivate and support it; and that he once heard a Sermon there, (from a person of Note) the avow'd design of which was to maintain and defend

defend it. He said, he was so fully convinc'd of the ill tendency of such a Principle, that after the hearing this Sermon, he thought himself bound in Conscience, when it came next to his turn to preach before *Cromwel*, to set himself industriously to oppose it, and to beat down that Spiritual Pride and Confidence, which such fancied Impulses and Impressions were apt to produce and cherish. He told me, he observ'd that while he was in the Pulpit, *Cromwel* heard him with great Attention, but would sometimes knit his Brows, and discover great Uneasiness. When the Sermon was over, he told me a Person of Distinction came to him, and ask'd him if he knew what he had done? and signify'd it to him as his apprehension, that *Cromwel* would be so incens'd upon that Discourse, that he would find it very difficult ever to make his Peace with him, or secure his Favour for the future. Mr. *Howe* reply'd, that he had but discharg'd his Conscience, and could leave the Event with God. He told me that he afterwards observ'd, *Cromwel* was cooler in his carriage to him than before; and sometimes he thought he would have spoken to him of the matter, but he never did, and rather chose to forbear. He added, that he had a great deal of satisfaction in what he did in this Case, both in the time of doing it, and ever afterwards, to the time of our conversing together upon this Subject.

I well remember, that upon this Occasion I begg'd of Mr. *Howe* a sight of the Notes of this Sermon of his, upon *a particular Faith in Prayer*, if ever he could recover them, and he gave me a Promise; and when I reminded him of it sometime after, he told me he had look'd for the Notes, but could not find them. And not long since I desir'd a search might be made for it, among the few Notes of his that remain. And what could be found, tho it is but a Fragment, shall be added in the close of this Account.

Whilst he continu'd in *Cromwel's* Family, he was often put upon secret Services; but they were always honourable, and such as according to the best of his Judgment, might be to the benefit either of the Publick, or of particular Persons. And when he was once engag'd, he us'd all the Diligence, and Secrecy, and Dispatch, he was able. Once particularly I have been inform'd, he was sent by *Oliver*, in hast, upon a certain occasion to *Oxford*, to a Meeting of Ministers there: and he made such Dispatch, that tho he rode by *St. Giles's* Church at Twelve a Clock, he arriv'd at *Oxford* by a quarter after Five. In short, he so behav'd himself in this Station, that he had the ill will of as few as any Man, and the particular Friendship of the great Dr. *Wilkins*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Chester*, and several others, who were great Supports of real Piety and Goodness

ness in those Times, and afterwards eminent under the Legal Establishment.

When *Oliver* dy'd, his Son *Richard* succeeded him as Protector, and Mr. *Howe* stood in the same relation to the Son, as he had done to the Father. He was still Chaplain at Court, when in *October* 1658, he met with the *Congregational* Brethren at the *Savoy*, at the time of their drawing up their *Confession of Faith*, &c. ‡ And tho he meddled not with *State Affairs*, neither then nor afterwards, yet he has often been heard to say, that he was in his Judgment very much against *Richard's* parting with his Parliament, which he easily foresaw would issue in his own ruin. I have been told by a Friend, that discoursing once freely with Mr. *Howe*, about the setting *Richard* aside, he intimated to him, that it was but a Parenthesis in a publick Paper, that was the occasion of the great Ill-will of the Officers to him, which rose at length to that height, that nothing would satisfy, but the pulling him down. And when the same Person signify'd in a way of free Discourse to Mr. *Howe*, that he had heard *Richard* reflected on as a weak Man, he with some warmth made this Return; How could he be a weak Man, when upon the Remonstrance that was

‡ See Memoirs of the Life of Dr. J. Owen, prefix'd to the complete Collection of his Sermons, pag. 21.

brought from the Army by his Brother *Fleetwood*, he stood it out all Night against his whole Council, and continu'd the Debate till four a Clock in the Morning, having none but *Thurlow* to abet him; maintaining that the dissolving that Parliament, would be both his ruin and theirs! Upon some further Discourse on the same Subject, Mr. *Howe* told my Friend, that *Fleetwood* undertook with great solemnity, that if *Richard* would but comply with the Proposal that was made him, the Army should not do him the least damage. And he added, that when *Fleetwood* was afterwards put in mind of this, all the Answer he return'd was, that he thought he had had more Interest in the Army than he found he had. And Mr. *Howe* farther added, that accidentally meeting with Major-General *Berry*, who was in those times so active and busy, sometime after the Restoration, when he was but in very mean Circumstances, he very freely told him, with Tears running down his Cheeks, that if *Richard* had but at that time hang'd up him, and nine or ten more, the Nation might have been happy. But without applauding what was weak, or vindicating what was blameable, it becomes us to be sensible, that the Great and infinitely Wise God had Purposes to serve, that were out of the reach of humane foresight.

When

When the Army had got their Will, and set *Richard* aside, they, as it was foreseen they would, soon fell themselves; and a way was made by *Monk* to bring things back into the old Channel. Mr. *Howe* return'd to his People at *Torrington*, and continu'd his Labours among them till the *Restoration*; at which time there was such a Madness attending the universal Joy, that it is a perfect wonder the Nation ever in any measure recover'd it. The King being restor'd, made for some time more use than was usual of the Lords Lieutenants and their Deputys to keep the several Counties of the Kingdom in awe: Many were made Offenders for a Word, and the most cautious Preachers were accus'd and censur'd, if they were not intoxicated to the same degree with their Neighbours. Among the rest, Mr. *Howe*, tho as cautious as most Men of giving disturbance to any, yet met with some trouble, in the Year 1660, a few Months after the *Restoration*, which appears to have been given him by Persons that were desirous to do a pleasure to those who then had the Ascendant.

He was inform'd against by *John Evans*, and *William Morgan*, as delivering somewhat that was Seditious and even Treasonable, in two Sermons preach'd from *Gal. 6. 7. 8.* on *Sept. 30.* and *Octob. 14.* The Information was given before Mr. *Wellington* the Mayor, who took an Ingagement from Mr. *Howe*,
and

and others on his behalf, for his appearance at the next Sessions, to answer to that matter. Before that time, some of the Deputy Lieutenants of the County (who were not willing the Magistrates of the several Corporations should be too powerful) sent word to the Mayor that they could not be present at the appointed Session, but desir'd to hear the matter at some other time, and prefix'd a Day for that purpose, to which the Mayor accordingly adjourn'd the Sessions in compliance with their desire. And whereas Mr. *Howe* in open Court demanded the benefit of the Statute of 1 *Edw.* 6. and 1 *Eliz.* to purge himself by more Evidences than the Informers, the Mayor administer'd an Oath to one and twenty Witnesses, who were judicious Men, injoining them on his Majesty's behalf to declare the Truth of the matter; and they all clear'd Mr. *Howe* from the Guilt in the Accusation, and the Court accordingly discharg'd him.

Some time after this, on *Nov.* 24. one of the Constables of the Town summon'd the Mayor to appear before the Deputy Lieutenants, by a Warrant dated the 14th, which he had kept ten Days by him: And the same being sign'd by four Gentlemen who had been in Town the Day that the Warrant bore date, (which was the very Day of the Hearing;) and the Sheriff's Hand who was not then in Town being also to the Warrant, the Mayor doubted

doubted whether the Warrant was made by the Gentlemen or not; and thereupon wrote to the Sheriff, that in case he might not be excus'd from appearing, he would prepare for it, as far as would consist with his Office and Place: But the Messenger not returning soon enough (the Summons being for *Saturday*, and the Appearance the *Wednesday* Morning after) the Mayor gave another Letter to the Deputy Lieutenants to the same purpose, and they presently sent a Party of Horse for him, who carry'd him to *Exon*; where appearing before the said Deputy Lieutenants, they told him he had acted unwarrantably in the Case of Mr. *Howe*, and committed him to the *Marshalsea*, where he paid three Pounds for Fees, and afterwards was bound over to appear at the next Assizes; and when they came, this Affair of Mr. *Howe* was heard at large before the Judge, and the Notes that were taken in Short-hand by a Hearer were read before him; and having heard them out, he said the Charge was wholly bottom'd upon a mistake, and clear'd him. One of the Accusers soon left the Town, and was seen there no more: and the other cut his own Throat, and was bury'd at a cross Road.

It is observable that there were many Things of this kind at that time in several parts of *England*, which seem to have been manag'd in Concert, on purpose to make way for the celebrated Act of Uniformity; as in the

the Case of Mr. *Andrew Parsons* of *Wem* in *Shropshire* *, Mr. *John Sacheverel* of *Wincaunton* in *Somersetshire* †, and divers others.

When things were thought sufficiently prepar'd for it, at length in 1662. the *Act of Uniformity* pass'd the two Houses of Parliament, tho as it was observ'd, (and it ought not to this Day to be forgotten) with a very small majority in the House of Commons; and it took place on *August* 24. this Year. Mr. *Howe* on that Day preach'd two very affecting Sermons to his People at *Torrington*, and his Auditory were all in Tears. He consulted his Conscience, and could not be satisfy'd with the Terms of Conformity fix'd by the Law, some Account of which he gave in his farewell Sermons. He hereupon quitted his publick Station in the Church, and became a silenc'd Non-conformist: Tho how that Church from which he was excluded, can be that truly Primitive and Apostolick Church that it is represented, and yet exclude one of his *Latitude*, remains to many to this Day a Mystery. I shan't easily forget what he himself has told me, viz. that the first time he accidentally fell into the Company of his much valu'd Friend Dr. *Wilkins*, after the affecting Change which that Act produc'd

* See Conformist's fourth Plea for the Nonconformists, p. 30, &c.

† See Abridgment, Vol. 2. pag. 597, 598, 599.

(under the sad Effects whereof many worthy Persons are still groaning) the Doctor in his usual way, entring into a free and pleasant Conversation with him, told him that that Act had had such Consequences as a little surpriz'd him. Some he said, that he should have thought much too stiff and rigid ever to have fallen in with the Establishment, had comply'd and conform'd, while others that he thought had a sufficient *Latitude* to have conform'd, had stood out, and continu'd Non-conformists: And he intimated to Mr. *Howe* that he took him for one of the latter sort, and should therefore be glad to know the Reasons of his Conduct. Mr. *Howe* very frankly told him, that he had weigh'd that matter with all the impartiality he was able, and had not so slender a Concern for his own Usefulness and Comfort, as not to have been willing and desirous to have been under the Establishment, could he but have compass'd it with satisfaction to his Conscience: But that the giving him a particular Account of the workings of his Mind upon that occasion, (which he was free to do without any reserve, when a convenient opportunity offer'd) would take up much more time than they then had to spend together; and that so many things were necessarily to be touch'd upon in a Discourse on that subject, that it was not possible for it to be croud'd into a transient Conversation, and therefore he should reserve it to a Season,

Season, when having more Time, he might have more Scope for enlarging: But one thing he added, he could tell him with Assurance, which was this, That that *Latitude* of his, which he was pleas'd to take notice of, was so far from inducing him to Conformity, that it was the very thing that made and kept him a Non-conformist. The Doctor ask'd him, whether it was *the Discipline* of the Church, that was the thing from whence he drew his chief Objection? To which Mr. *Howe* reply'd, that he could not by any means be fond of a Church, that in reality had no *Discipline* at all, and that he thought that a very considerable Objection against the Establishment. The Doctor told him, that tho he was sensible there might not then be room for coming to a variety of Particulars, yet he should be glad of a General hint from him, about what was his great hindrance in the Case, leaving the enlargement to a farther opportunity, which he should readily embrace. Mr. *Howe* then went on, and intimated to him, that he took the publick Exercise of his Ministry, to be like an Habitation or Dwelling; and that when he was put upon consulting about a Dwelling, he could not tell how to reconcile it with common Prudence, to enter into an Habitation, that he was apprehensive had so weak a Foundation, as that it was not likely to stand very long. I could not, says he, by any means be for going into
into

into a falling House, for fear of its falling about my Ears. Of this nature (said he) I take the present Constitution to be, compar'd with that flourishing state of Real Vital Religion, which I think I have sufficient warrant from the Word of God to expect and look for. To which the Doctor made this Reply: I understand you well, and if that be your Sense, take this Advice from a Friend; don't think to gain any thing by sneaking or crouching, but bear up against us boldly and bravely; stand to your Principle, and sooner or later you may hope to carry your Point.

This Dr. *Wilkins* was ever a great Enemy to Rigour and Severity. When he was made a Bishop by King *Charles II.* (which was not compass'd without considerable difficulty) I have been credibly inform'd, he waited on the famous Dr. *Cosins* Bishop of *Durham*, among other spiritual Lords, and desir'd his Company at his Consecration Dinner. Upon this occasion, Bishop *Cosins* enter'd into a free Discourse with him, about *Moderation* on the one hand, and a vigorous supporting the Ecclesiastical Constitution on the other. Bishop *Wilkins* frankly told his Lordship, that for his part, it was his apprehension, that he who was by many (with ill Nature eno') reflected on for his *Moderation*, was in reality a better Friend to the Church, than his Lordship, who was for rigorously supporting the Constitution. Bishop *Cosins* seeming surpriz'd,

Bishop *Wilkins* added this as the reason of his Assertion : For while you my Lord, said he, are for setting the Top on the piqued end downwards, you won't be able to keep it up, any longer than you continue whipping and scourging : Whereas I, says he, am for setting the broad end downward, and so 'twill stand of it self. 'Tis a pity this good Bishop dy'd so soon as 1672, and did not live till the Revolution in 1688.

What I have just been mentioning, of Mr. *Howe's* intimating to Dr. *Wilkins*, that he thought he had a scriptural Warrant to expect and look for a more flourishing state of Real Vital Religion than we were yet arriv'd at, very naturally reminds me of a Passage I have heard of in Conversation, at some other time, between him and another great Friend of his, viz. Dr. *Henry More*. That Doctor when he came to Town, usually paid a Visit to Mr. *Howe*, to whom he was always welcome. Calling once at his House, soon after his coming into the City, and not finding him at home, he left word he would come and dine with him the next Day, which was *Tuesday*. Mr. *Howe* became that Day an Auditor at the Lecture at St. *Laurence's*, hoping there to meet with his Friend Dr. *More*, and bring him home along with him. It so fell out that Dr. *More* being at that Lecture, sat in the same Seat with Dr. *Sharp*, who was afterwards Archbishop of *York*, who when
Ser-

Sermon was over, ask'd him where he intended that Day to dine. He told him he had promis'd to dine that Day with Mr. *Howe*, whom he saw there present in another Pew. Dr. *Sharp* invited himself to dine with him too ; and the Company of two such Persons was highly pleasing to Mr. *Howe*, who was in his Element when in the Company of Men of Letters. After Dinner, among other things that were freely discours'd of, they at length came to talk of the *Revelation* of St. *John*, which was one of the Doctor's most common and Favorite Subjects. The Doctor, who was very fond of the Notion, that the Epistles to the seven *Asian* Churches, which we meet with in that Book, were Prophetical, said, and repeated it over and over again, that he thought he had very good Evidence to prove that we were now in the *Sardian* State ; with which Mr. *Howe* was not displeas'd, tho Dr. *Sharp* seem'd not much to relish it, thinking it no great Complement on the present Ecclesiastical Constitution. Being inform'd of this Conversation, I took the pains to turn to Dr. *More's* Works, to see what Account he gives of the *Sardian* Church ; and I find in him these Words, when he is giving a particular Description of it : *Tho the Sardian Church be well rid of the foul Idolatries, and gross Trumperys of the Papal Church, yet her State as yet is but carnal. It is not the Dispensation of the Spirit of Life,*

but the main stir is about external Opinion and Ceremony*, And he adds a little after: *As mischievous a mark as any of her Carnality, is her Dissension and Schismaticalness, even to mutual Persecution; as also the unnatural and unchristian Wars of one part of Reformed Christendom against the other.* So that Mr. Howe was not singular in his Sentiments, in firmly expecting that a much more flourishing State of Religion would in time take place, than that which was brought in by the *Act of Uniformity*, in which so many were for acquiescing, without advancing so much as a step farther, for fear of I know not what ill Consequences, that might ensue. But as to him, he had a large Soul, and could not bear the thoughts of being cramp'd and pinion'd. He was for the *Union and Communion of all visible Christians*; and for making nothing necessary to Christian Communion, but what Christ hath made necessary, or what is indeed necessary to one's being a Christian. And he was convinc'd that such an Union must be effected, not by mere human Endeavour, but by an Almighty Spirit pour'd forth, which (says he) after we have suffer'd a while, shall καταρτίσαι, put us into joint, and make every joint know its place

* See Dr. More's Prophetical Exposition of the seven Epistles, sent to the seven Churches, Chap. 7.

in the body, 1 Pet. 5. 10. shall conquer private Interests and Inclinations, and overawe Mens Hearts, by the Authority of the Divine Law, which now, how express soever it is, little availeth against such Prepossession. Till then, he says, Christianity will be among us a languishing withering thing. When the season comes of such an effusion of the Spirit from on high, there will be no Parties. And amidst the Wilderness Desolation that cannot but be till that season comes, it matters little, and signifies to me (says he) scarce one Straw what Party of us is uppermost. The most Righteous as they may be vogu'd, will be but as Briars and scratching Thorns; and it is better to suffer by such, than be of them †. I cannot help saying, that it could never be for the Credit of any Church, to exclude one of such a Make and Spirit, out of its Inclosure.

However, being ejected and silenc'd, Mr. Howe continu'd for some time in the County of *Devon*, preaching in private Houses, among his Friends and Acquaintance, as he had opportunity. Having preach'd at the House of a certain Gentleman in those Parts, and spent some few Days with him, he at his return home, was told that an Officer be-

† See Mr. Howe's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Mede, Duod. p. 54, 55, 56.

longing to the Bishop's Court had been to enquire after him, and left word that there was a Citation out, both against him, and the Gentleman at whose House he had preach'd. Hereupon, he the very next Morning took his Horse, and rode to *Exeter*, and lighting at the Inn there which he usually call'd at, he stood a while at the Gate, considering which way he had best to steer his Course. While he stood musing, a certain dignify'd Clergyman, with whom he was well acquainted, happening to pass by, look'd on him with some surprize, and saluted him with this Question, Mr. *Howe*, what do you do here? To whom he reply'd, with another Question; Pray Sir, what have I done, that I may not be here? Upon which he told him that there was a Process out against him, and that being so well known as he was, he did not at all question but that if he did not take care of himself, he would be taken up in a very little time. Among other Discourse that pass'd, he ask'd him whether he would not go and wait upon the Bishop? He said, he thought not to do it, unless his Lordship hearing of his being in that City, should think fit to invite him. Upon this, he advis'd him to call for a Room, and wait there a little, and told him he would go to the Bishop, and let him know that he was there, and return to him again, and give him an account, what his Lordship said to it. He accordingly left him,

him, and soon return'd, and brought him an invitation from the Bishop, who signify'd he would be glad to see him. Waiting on his Lordship, he receiv'd him with great Civility, as his old Acquaintance. The Bishop presently fell to expostulating with him about his *Nonconformity*. Mr. *Howe* told his Lordship, he could not have time, without greatly trespassing upon his Patience, to go thro the several Objections which he had to make, against the Terms of *Conformity*. The Bishop press'd him to name any one that he reckon'd to be of weight. He thereupon instanc'd in the point of *Reordination*. Why, pray Sir, said the Bishop to him, what hurt is there in being twice Ordain'd? *Hurt*, my Lord, says Mr. *Howe* to him; the Thought is shocking; it hurts my Understanding; it is an absurdity: For nothing can have two Beginnings. I am sure, said he, I am a Minister of Christ, and am ready to debate that matter with your Lordship, if you please; and I can't begin again to be a Minister. The Bishop then dropping that Matter, told Mr. *Howe*, as he had done at other times, that if he would come in amongst them, he might have considerable Preferments, and at length dismiss'd him in a very friendly manner. And as his Lordship did not take the least notice to him of the Process that was issu'd out against him, so neither did he say any thing of it to his Lordship: But taking his leave, he mounted

his Horse, and rode home, and heard no more of that matter, either with respect to the Gentleman, or himself.

In 1665, when the Dissenting Ministers had been three Years silenc'd, they were not a little perplex'd in all parts of the Kingdom, by the Act that pass'd in the Parliament at *Oxford*, by which they were oblig'd (under the penalty of not being allow'd, unless upon the Road, to come within five Miles of any City, or Corporation, or any place that sent Burgeses to Parliament, or any place where they had been Ministers, or had preach'd after the Act of Oblivion) to swear, *that it was not lawful UPON ANY PRETENCE WHATSOEVER* *, *to take Arms against the King, and that they abhorr'd the Traiterous Position, of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those Commissionated by him, in pursuance of such Commission: And that they would not at any time endeavour any Alteration of the Government either in Church or State.* They were much divided in their Sentiments upon this Occasion. There were several among them, who reckon'd this Oath so insnaring, that they durst not take it: But it was at length taken in *London* by *Dr. Bates*, and o-

* This Matter was strenuously and solemnly argu'd upon, a great many Years after, by the Managers for the House of Commons, in the Trial of *Dr. Henry Sacheverel*.

thers,

thers, to the number of Twenty †. It was also taken in *Devonshire*, by Mr. *Howe*, and others to the number of Twelve: And by some few in *Dorsetshire*.

The Twelve who took this Oath in *Devonshire*, were (as I am inform'd from a Manuscript of Mr. *Quick's*) Mr. *Humphrey Saunders*, Mr. *John Howe*, Mr. *Gunnery*, Mr. *Mortimer*, Mr. *Parre*, Mr. *Francis Whiddon*, Mr. *Fairant*, Mr. *Wilkins*, Mr. *Binmore*, Mr. *Berry*, Mr. *Cleveland*, and Mr. *Bayly*. The two last took it voluntarily, before it came in force. The other Ten took it at the County Sessions, after the taking place of the Act. At their appearance for that purpose, one of the Company (I find not who) made a Declaration in open Court, in these Words:

“ I confess I have had some Doubts concerning this Oath; but understanding partly by Discourse about it with some who concurr'd in making of the Law, and partly by consideration of the Law it self, and other Laws, that the Oath hath no other meaning or end, than to secure the Person of the King's Majesty, and his Authority, whether in his Person or Commissioners, and the Government in Church and State, from being shaken or subverted, by any

† See Abridgment of Mr. *Baxter's* Life, Vol. I. pag. 313.

“ unpeaceable or seditious Endeavours out of
 “ our Place and Calling, I am abundantly sa-
 “ tisfy’d to tender my self to this honourable
 “ Court, for the taking of it.

This Declaration being candidly accepted by the Court, the Ten before mentioned immediately took the Oath. Only Mr. *Fairant*, and Mr. *Wilkins*, took it with this Addition, *so far as the Laws of Man are agreeable to the Word of God.*

But as to Mr. *Howe*, he upon this Occasion drew up the following Paper, which gives an account of the Principles upon which he took the Oath that was then impos’d; and at the same time states the matter of Oaths in general, as judiciously and fully, as can well be suppos’d or imagin’d in so narrow a compass.

“ 1. My Swearing is my Act. 2. The
 “ Obligation I hereby contract is Voluntary.
 “ 3. Swearing in a form of Words prescrib’d
 “ by another, I adopt those Words, and
 “ make them my own. 4. Being now so a-
 “ dopted, their first use is to express the true
 “ sense of my Heart, touching the matter
 “ about which I swear. 5. Their next use,
 “ as they have now the Form of an Oath,
 “ is to assure him or them who duly require
 “ it from me, that what I express by them
 “ is the true sense of my Heart. 6. ’Tis re-
 “ pugnant to both those Ends, that they
 “ should

“ should be construed (as now us’d by me)
 “ to signify another thing than what I sin-
 “ cerely intend to make known by them.
 “ 7. If the Words be of dubious Signification,
 “ capable of more Senses than one, I ought
 “ not to hide the Sense in which I take them,
 “ but declare it, lest I deceive them whom
 “ I should satisfy. 8. That Declaration I
 “ ought to make, if I have opportunity, to
 “ them whose satisfaction is primarily intend-
 “ ed by the Oath; if not, to them whom
 “ they intrust and employ. 9. This declared
 “ Sense must be such as the Words will fairly
 “ bear, without Force or Violence.

I have been told, that in this year 1665, Mr. *Howe* was imprison’d for two Months in the Isle of *S. Nicolas*, which was the place where his Father in Law Mr. *George Hughes*, and his Brother Mr. *Obadiah Hughes* had been confin’d for a longer time: But the occasion of this Imprisonment, what was alledg’d to justify it, and how he obtain’d deliverance, I have not been able to discover.

In a Letter he wrote to his Brother in Law Mr. *Obadiah Hughes*, after they were set at Liberty, he express’d himself thus:

“ Blessed be God, that we can have, and
 “ hear of, each other’s Occasions of Thankf-
 “ giving, that we may join Praises as well
 “ as Prayers, which I hope is done daily for
 “ one another. Nearer approaches, and con-
 “ stant

“stant adherence to God, with the improve-
“ment of our Interest in each other’s Heart,
“must compensate (and I hope will abund-
“antly) the unkindness and instability of a
“furlly treacherous World, that we see still
“retains its wayward Temper, and grows
“more peevish as it grows older, and more
“ingenious in inventing ways to torment
“whom it disaffects. It was it seems, not
“enough to kill by one single Death, but
“when that was almost done, to give leave
“and time to respire, to live again, at least
“in hope, that it might have the renew’d
“Pleasure of putting us to a farther Pain and
“Torture in dying once more. Spite is na-
“tural to her. All her Kindness is an artifi-
“cial Disguise: A Device to promote and
“serve the design of the former, with the
“more efficacious and piercing malignity.
“But Patience will elude the Design, and
“blunt its sharpest Edge. It is perfectly de-
“feated when nothing is expected from it
“but Mischief: For then the worst it can
“threaten finds us provided, and the best it
“can promise incredulous, and not apt to be
“impos’d upon. This will make it at last
“despair and grow hopeless, when it finds
“that the more it goes about to mock and
“vex us, the more it teaches and instructs
“us; and that as it is wicked, we are
“wiser. If we cannot, God will outwit it,
“and carry us, I trust, safe thro, to a better
“World,

“ World, upon which we may terminate
 “ Hopes that will never make us ashamed,
 “ &c.

He continu'd still in those *Western* Counties, and went much from one Gentleman's House to another, and was ready wherever he came, to do any Service he was able : And at length in the Year 1668, he was prevail'd with to print a Book which met with wonderful Acceptance in the World, and not undeservedly, if either the Subject be consider'd, or the happy Management of it. I remember it was an usual saying of Dr. *Henry More*, who has been already mention'd once and again, that *if any Man had but written, his Works would best shew to all intelligent Readers what he was* *. Perhaps this is as true of Mr. *Howe* as of most Men that ever appear'd in Print. For in some of his Writings he has drawn his own very Picture, without any Disguise or Artifice.

The first thing of his that was publish'd, was a Sermon from *Eccles. vii. 29.* upon *Man's Creation in an holy, but mutable State.* It is to be met with in *the Morning Exercise methodiz'd*, printed in 1660. But he at this time publish'd a Discourse intituled, *the Blessedness of the righteous*, from *Psal. xvii. 15.* being, as I am inform'd, Sermons preach'd while he was at *Torrington* : And

* See Dr. *More's* Life, by Mr. *Rich. Ward*, p. 21.

this is a Treatise that has been well receiv'd and greatly valu'd, by the most serious and judicious of all Persuasions.

There is something in the *Preface* to this Work, that I take to be extremely fine, and that should not be pass'd over lightly, according to the usual way for the generality of common Readers. He there says of that Discourse of his,

“ That the Design of it is wholly Practi-
“ cal, and it hath little or nothing to do
“ with Disputation. If (*says he*) there be
“ any whose Business it is, to promote a pri-
“ vate divided Interest, or who place the
“ Sum of their Religion in an inconsiderable
“ and doubtful Opinion, it doth not unhallow
“ their Altars, nor offer any Affront to their
“ Idol. It intends no quarrel to any con-
“ tending angry Party; but deals upon
“ things, in the Substance whereof Christians
“ are at a profess'd Agreement: And hath
“ therefore the greater probability of do-
“ ing good to some, without the Offence of
“ any. 'Tis indeed equally matter of Com-
“ plaint and Wonder, that Men can find so
“ much leisure, to avert from such things
“ wherein there is so much both of Delight
“ and Pleasure, unto what one would think
“ should have little of Temptation or Al-
“ lurement in it, contentious jangling. It
“ might rather be thought, its visible Fruits
“ and Tendency should render it the most
“ dreadful

“ dreadful thing to every serious Beholder.
“ What Tragedies hath it wrought in the
“ Christian Church ! Into how weak and
“ languishing a Condition hath it brought the
“ Religion of professed Christians ! Hence
“ have risen the intemperate preternatural
“ Heats and Angers that have spent its
“ Strength and Spirits ; and make it look
“ with so meagre and pale a Face. We have
“ had a greater mind to dispute than live,
“ and to contend about what we know not,
“ than to practise the far greater things we
“ know, and which more directly tend to
“ nourish and maintain the Divine Life. The
“ Author of that ingenious Sentence, *Pruritus Disputandi scabies Ecclesiæ*, who-
“ ever he were, hath fitly express’d what is
“ the noisome Product of the Itch of Dispu-
“ ting. It hath begot the ulcerous Tumours,
“ which besides their own offensive foreness,
“ drain the Body, and turn what should nou-
“ rish that, into Nutriment to themselves.
“ And its Effects are not more grievous, than
“ the Pleasures which it affects and pursues
“ are uncouth and unnatural. The rough
“ touch of an ingentle Hand ; that only
“ pleases which exasperates ; (as *Seneca* the
“ Moralist aptly expresses some like disaffec-
“ tion of diseased Minds ;) Toil and Vexa-
“ tion is their only delight ; and what to a
“ sound Spirit would be a Pain, is to these a
“ Pleasure.

“ Which

“ Which is indeed the Triumph of the
“ Disease, that it adds unto Torment, Re-
“ proach and Mockery, and imposes upon
“ Men by so ridiculous a Delusion, (while
“ they are made to take pleasure in punishing
“ themselves) that even the most Sober can
“ scarce look on in a fitter Posture than with
“ a compassionate Smile. All which were
“ yet somewhat more tolerable, if that ima-
“ gin’d vanishing Pleasure were not the whole
“ of their Gain: Or if it were to be hop’d
“ that so great a present real Pain and Smart,
“ should be recompens’d with as real a con-
“ sequent Fruit and Advantage. But we
“ know that generally, by how much any
“ thing is more disputable, the less it is ne-
“ cessary or conducive to the Christian Life.
“ God hath graciously provided, that what
“ we are to live by, should not cost us so
“ dear. And possibly as there is the less oc-
“ casion of disputing about the more mo-
“ mentous things of Religion, so there may
“ be somewhat more of Modesty and Awe,
“ in reference to what is so confessedly Ve-
“ nerable and Sacred, (tho too many are
“ over-bold even here also) than so foolishly
“ trifle with such Things. Therefore more
“ commonly, where that humour prevails,
“ Men divert from those plainer Things,
“ with some flighter and more superficial Re-
“ verence to them, but more heartily esteem-
“ ing them insipid and jejune, because they
“ have

“ have less in them to gratify their Appetite,
 “ and betake themselves to such things about
 “ which they may more plausibly contend :
 “ And then what pitiful Trifles often take
 “ up their Time and Thoughts ! Questions
 “ and Problems of like weighty importance
 “ (very often) with those which *Seneca* tells
 “ us this Disease among the *Greeks* prompted
 “ them to trouble themselves about ! as what
 “ number of Rowers *Ulysses* had ? which was
 “ written first, the *Iliad* or the *Odysses* ? so
 “ that (as he saith) they spend their Lives
 “ very operosely doing nothing : Their Con-
 “ ceits being such, that if they kept them
 “ to themselves they could yield them no
 “ Fruit, and if they publish'd them to others,
 “ they should not seem thereby the more
 “ Learned, but the more Troublesome. And
 “ is it not (says he) to be resented, that
 “ Men should sell away the solid Strength
 “ and vital Joy, which a serious Soul would
 “ find in substantial Religion, for such Toys !
 “ Yea, and not only famish themselves, but
 “ trouble the World, and embroil the Church
 “ with their Impertinencys ! If a Man be
 “ drawn forth, to defend an important Truth
 “ against an injurious Assault, it were treache-
 “ rous Self-love to purchase his own Peace
 “ by declining it. Or if he did sometimes
 “ turn his Thoughts to some of our petite
 “ Questions, that with many are so hotly
 “ agitated, for Recreation sake, or to try

“ his Wit, and exercise his Reason without
“ stirring his Passions, to the disturbance of
“ others or himself; here an innocent di-
“ vertisement is the best purpose that things
“ of that nature are capable of serving. But
“ when Contention becomes a man’s Element,
“ and he cannot live out of that Fire; strains
“ his Wit, and racks his Invention to find
“ matter of Quarrel; is resolv’d nothing said
“ or done by others shall please him, only
“ because he means to please himself in Dis-
“ senting; disputes only that he may dispute,
“ and loves Dissension for it self; this is the
“ unnatural Humour that hath so unspeak-
“ ably troubled the Church, and debas’d Re-
“ ligion, and fill’d Mens Souls with Wind
“ and Vanity, yea with Fire and Fury.
“ This hath made Christians Gladiators, and
“ the Christian World a clamorous Theatre,
“ while Men have equally affected to con-
“ tend, and to make Ostentation of their
“ Ability to do so, &c.”

Some time after this, he was earnestly invited by a Person of considerable Quality into *Ireland*, and had generous Offers made him. He accepted the Motion with the greater readiness, and look’d upon it as the more Providential, because by this time he was reduc’d to straits, and his Circumstances were but low; which is not at all to be wonder’d at, considering that he had for some Years been out of any settled Employment, and had

had but a small Income, several in Family, and a generous Spirit of his own, which inclin'd him upon all Occasions to make the best Figure he was able. He set Sail for *Dublin* (as I am inform'd) in the beginning of *April*, 1671. And here I have a memorable Passage to relate, which I have from such Hands, that I cannot question the Truth of it. When he went for *Ireland*, taking his eldest Son along with him, he was for imbarking at a Town in *Wales*, the name of which my Informant has forgotten, but I suppose it was *Holy-head*. The Wind not serving to carry them off, they continu'd there a Lord's Day, and found a large Parish Church, in which Prayers only were to be read as usually, but no Preaching was expected. The Company that was with Mr. *Howe* and waited for a Wind, were pretty numerous, and they were desirous to find out some private place by the Sea-side, where he might preach to them. As they were walking along the Sands in search of some such place, they met two Men on Horseback riding towards the Town, who prov'd to be the Parson of the Parish and his Clerk. The Clerk was ask'd by one in the Company, whether his Master preach'd that Day? No, said he, my Master does not use to preach, he only reads Prayers. Upon which it was farther inquir'd whether he thought his Master would be willing to give leave to a Minister that was

in their Company, who was going for *Ireland* but waiting for a Wind, to make use of his Pulpit that Day in his room? He answer'd he believ'd very willingly, and they found it so, when the Clerk had once made the motion to him. Hereupon Mr. *Howe* and the rest of them return'd back to the Town, and he preach'd that Day twice to them in the Church; and in the Afternoon the Auditory was very large, and seem'd to be not a little affected with what was deliver'd. The Wind not serving all the Week following, the Country all round those parts took notice that neither the Vessel, nor the Minister were gone; and therefore on the Lord's-Day after, they came flocking into the Town, expecting he would preach that Day also. There was a prodigious multitude gather'd together; and the Parson who had had no thoughts about the matter, nor made the least motion for any farther Assistance from the Stranger, observing it, was in no small Consternation. Preach himself he could not; for he had not of a long time been us'd to it, and he was altogether unprovided; and if he did not employ the Stranger, it would lessen his Reputation greatly: But then he did not know, whether as things stood, he could be able to prevail with him. However he sent his Clerk to Mr. *Howe*, and beg'd he would come and preach again, for that otherwise he knew not what to do, the Country being come in from
several

several miles round, in hope of hearing him. Mr. *Howe* having been much indispos'd, was in Bed, and in a great sweat when he receiv'd the Message, and that made him at first doubtful whether he had best venture to comply. But considering with himself that here was a plain call of Providence, and not knowing but much good might be done in such a place, where Preaching was so uncommon a thing, and the People seem'd so desirous of the Word of God, he sent word he would do it; and cool'd himself with as much speed as he was able with safety, and cast himself upon God, and went and preach'd with great Life and Freedom: And he told my Informant, that he never in all his Life saw People more mov'd, or receive the Word with greater Pleasure. And he at the same time added these words, *if my Ministry was ever of any use, I think it must be then.* Very soon after, the Vessel went off, and he found no ill Effects or Consequences at all, of the Pains he took in such Circumstances. +

At length he had his whole Family with him in *Ireland*, where he liv'd as Chaplain to the Lord *Massarene* in the Parish of *Antrim*, and was receiv'd and treated with all imaginable respect. His great Learning and Christian Temper, (together with that Lord's Interest and Influence) procur'd him the particular Friendship of the Bishop of that Diocese, who (together with his Metropolitan) with-

out demanding any Conformity, gave him free Liberty to preach in the publick Church in that Town, every Lord's Day in the Afternoon: And I have been inform'd that the Archbishop in a pretty full meeting of the Clergy, told them frankly, that he would have Mr. *Howe* have every Pulpit (where he had any Concern) open to him, in which he at any time was free to preach. And he manifested his truly peaceable and Christian Spirit, both in his Preaching and Conversation, and was useful to many.

In the very year in which he settled here, he publish'd a noble Discourse upon *the Vanity of this mortal Life, or of Man, consider'd only in this present mortal State*, from *Psal. LXXXIX. 47, 48.* which Discourse is usually bound up with his *Blessedness of the Righteous*. There is an Epistle before this Sermon dated from *Antrim* in 1671. to *John Upton* of *Lupton* in *Devon*, Esq; his Kinsman, signifying that it was compos'd, upon occasion of the Death of *Anthony Upton*, Son of the said *John*, who had liv'd between twenty and thirty years in *Spain*, and had promis'd to return home; and being earnestly expected, a sudden Disease in so few Days landed him in another World, that the first notice his Friends had of his Death or Sickness, was by the arrival of that Vessel, (clad in mourning attire) which brought over the deserted Body to its native place of *Lupton*: which
Pro-

Providence was therefore the more affecting, because a Meeting of the several Branches of the Family, who liv'd at distant places, having been appointed, the Place and Occasion and Design of it was this way alter'd; and no less than twenty, the Brothers and Sisters of the deceased, or their Consorts, besides many Nephews and Nieces, and other Relations, were brought together to the mournful Solemnity of the Interment. It has been the Judgment of many, that this Discourse is as noble a piece of true Theological Oratory, as can be easily met with.

In 1674. he publish'd his *Treatise of delighting in God*, which was the Substance of some Sermons he had preach'd twenty Years before to the People of *Torrington*, with some Additions and Inlargements. He dedicated them to his old Friends, the Inhabitants of that Town, by a masculine but at the same time most tender and affectionate Epistle to them from *Antrim*, in which he gives such an Account of himself, as may very well heighten our Idea of him. Speaking of the Sermons which he then publish'd, he expresses himself in this glorious manner.

“ They aim (says he) at the promoting of
 “ the same End, which the Course of my
 “ poor Labours among you did, (as he that
 “ knoweth all things knoweth) the serious
 “ practice of the great things of Religion,
 “ which are known, and least liable to ques-
 “ tion;

“ tion; without designing to ingage you to
“ or against any Party of them that differ
“ about circumstantial Matters. They tend
“ to let you see, that Formality in any way
“ of Religion, unaccompany’d with Life,
“ will not serve your turn, (as it will no
“ Man’s;) than which there is nothing more
“ empty, sapless, and void both of Profit
“ and Delight. I have reflected and con-
“ sider’d with some Satisfaction, that this
“ hath been my way, and the Temper of my
“ Mind among you. Great Reason I have
“ to repent, that I have not with greater
“ earnestness press’d upon you the known and
“ important things wherein serious Christians
“ do generally agree: But I repent not I have
“ been so little ingag’d in the hot Contests of
“ our Age, about the things wherein they
“ differ. For as I pretend to little Light in
“ these things, (whence I could not have
“ much Confidence to fortify me to such an
“ Undertaking) so I must profess to have little
“ inclination to contend about matters of that
“ kind. Nor yet am I indifferent as to these
“ smaller things, that I cannot discern to be
“ in their own nature so. But tho I cannot
“ avoid to think that Course right which I
“ have deliberately chosen therein, I do yet
“ esteem that but a small thing upon which
“ to ground an Opinion of my exceeding
“ them that think otherwise, as if I knew
“ more than they. For I have often recount-
“ ed

“ ed thus seriously with my self, that of every
 “ differing Party (in those circumstantial mat-
 “ ters) I do particularly know some Persons
 “ by whom I find my self much excell’d, in
 “ much greater things than is the matter of
 “ that difference. I cannot (’tis true) there-
 “ upon say and think every thing that they
 “ do; which is impossible, since they differ
 “ from one another as well as me; and I un-
 “ derstand well there are other measures of
 “ Truth, than this or that excellent Person’s
 “ Opinion: But I thereupon reckon I have
 “ little reason to be conceited of any Advan-
 “ tage I have of such in point of Know-
 “ ledge; (even as little as he would have,
 “ that can sing or play well on a Lute, of
 “ him that knows how to command Armies,
 “ or govern a Kingdom;) and can with the
 “ less Confidence differ from them, or con-
 “ tend with them. Being thereby, tho I can-
 “ not find that I err in these matters, con-
 “ strain’d to have some suspicion lest I do;
 “ and to admit it possible enough, that some
 “ of them who differ from me, having much
 “ more light in greater matters, may have
 “ so in these also. Besides that I most seri-
 “ ously think, Humility, Charity, and Pa-
 “ tience, would more contribute to the com-
 “ posing of these lesser Differences, or to
 “ the good Estate of the Christian Interest
 “ under them, than the most fervent Disputes
 “ and Contestations. I have upon such Con-
 “ siderations

“ Considerations little concern’d my self in con-
 “ tending for one way or another, while I
 “ was among you ; or in censuring such as
 “ have differ’d from me, in such Notions and
 “ Practices as might consist with our com-
 “ mon great End ; or as imported not ma-
 “ nifest Hostility thereto : Contenting my
 “ self to follow the Course that to my pre-
 “ ponderating Judgment seem’d best, without
 “ stepping out of my way to jostle others.
 “ But I cannot be so patient of their practical
 “ Disagreement (not only with all serious
 “ Christians, but even their own Judgments
 “ and Consciences also) who have no delight
 “ in God, and who take no Pleasure in the
 “ very substance of Religion, &c.” We may
 from hence take our Measures of him both
 as a Minister and a Divine ; and can hardly
 forbear making this Reflection, that it would
 be an unspeakable Happiness, did but such a
 Spirit as this prevail more among all the Partys
 into which we are divided.

In 1675. upon the Death of Dr. *Lazarus*
Seaman, he had an Invitation given him to
 come and fix in *London*, by a part of his
 Congregation, and was earnestly press’d to
 accept of their Call. There was some diffe-
 rence among them about the Person in whom
 they should center. Some were for Mr. *Char-*
nock, and others for Mr. *Howe* : And tho
 they that wrote to him urg’d a variety of Ar-
 guments and Inducements, yet he could not
 so

so well judge of the matters alledg'd at a distance ; and was thereupon prevail'd with to take a Voyage into *England*, and make a Visit at *London*, that he might view and judge of things upon the Spot. He upon this Occasion, which created him a great many Thoughts, and in which he look'd seriously upwards for Conduct, committed some Hints to Writing, which have been preserv'd, and are here faithfully transcrib'd from an authentick Copy.

The Paper is inscrib'd after this Manner.

Considerations and Communings with my self concerning my present Journey, Dec. 20. 75. By Night on my Bed.

“ I. **Q**UÆRE; *Have I not an undue Design or Self-respect in it ?*

“ 1. I know well I ought not to have any Design for my self, which admits not of Subordination to the Interest and Honour of the Great God, and my Redeemer, and which is not actually so subordinated.

“ 2. I understand the fearful Evil and Sinfulness of having such an undue Design, that it is Idolatry ; the taking another God, and making my self that God.

“ 3. I

“ 3. I find (thro God’s Mercy) some sensible stirrings of Hatred and Detestation, in my Breast, of that Wickedness, and a great Apprehension of the Loveliness and Beauty of a state of pure intire devotedness to God in Christ, and of acting accordingly.

“ 4. I have insisted on this chiefly in Prayer to God, in reference to this Business, ever since it was set on foot, that I might be sincere in it : And tho I have earnestly beg’d Light to guide me therein, so as that I might do that herein which in the Substance of the thing is agreeable to the holy Will of God, yet I have much more importunately pray’d that I might be sincere in what I do, not only because I know God will pardon Ignorance (unremedy’d by utmost Endeavours) where he beholds Sincerity, whereas he will never accept the knowledge of our Duty, nor the doing what is in substance our Duty, if that right Manner of doing it, or Principle whence it is done be wanting ; but also from the higher Esteem I have of Sincerity, above all Light and Knowledge without it, and the greater Excellence of the thing it self.

“ 5. I have carefully examin’d what selfish respects I can have in this matter. Is it worldly Emolument ? In this my Heart acquits me in the sight of God. Is it that

“ I

“ I affect to be upon a publick Stage, to be
 “ popular and applauded by Men? To this I
 “ say, (1.) That I do verily believe, that I
 “ shall be lower in the Eye and Esteem of the
 “ People in *London*, when I come under
 “ their nearer view. I know my self incapa-
 “ ble of pleasing their Genius. I cannot con-
 “ trive nor endure to preach with elaborate
 “ Artifice. They will soon be weary, when
 “ they hear nothing but plain Discourses of
 “ such Matters as are not new to them. Yea
 “ and Ministers that now judge of me by
 “ what I have written, (when Matter and
 “ Words were in some measure weigh’d) will
 “ find me when I converse with them, slow
 “ to apprehend things, slow to express my
 “ own Apprehensions, unready, entangled
 “ and obscure in my Apprehensions and Ex-
 “ pressions: so that all will soon say, this is
 “ not the Man we took him for. (2.) It dis-
 “ pleases me not, that they should find and
 “ say this. I hope I should digest it well.
 “ (3.) I have found (blessed be God) that
 “ the Applauses some have imprudently given
 “ me in Letters, (as I have receiv’d many of
 “ that Strain, very many long before this Bu-
 “ siness, and that had no relation unto any
 “ such, that no Eye hath ever since seen but
 “ my own) an occasion and means to me of
 “ deep Humiliation, when my own Heart
 “ hath witnessed to me, my miserable Penu-
 “ ry, and that I am thought to be what I am
 “ not.

“ not. (4.) So far as I can find, I do not
 “ deliberately covet or desire Esteem but for
 “ my Works sake, and the Success of my
 “ Work. Of Applause I have often found
 “ an inward Abhorrence. I both know I have
 “ nothing but what I have receiv’d, and that
 “ I have receiv’d a great deal less than many
 “ think I have : Which I say with Reflection
 “ on my self; not to diminish the Bounty of
 “ the Free giver, from whom I know I might
 “ have receiv’d much more, if I had sought
 “ and us’d his Gifts aright. All the Design
 “ I can more vehemently suspect my self of
 “ that looks like Self-interest any way, is
 “ (1.) The improvement of my own Know-
 “ ledge, which I know there may be great
 “ Opportunities for, if this Journey should
 “ issue in my Settlement at *London*. (2.)
 “ The disposal of my Children. Yet I hope
 “ these things are eyed in Subordination,
 “ and indifferently, so as not to sway with
 “ me against my Duty.

“ II. Quære ; *Have I not a previous*
 “ *Resolution of settling at London*
 “ *before I go up ?*

“ 1. I have a Resolution to do what I shall
 “ conceive shall make most to the Usefulness
 “ of the rest of my Life, which Resolution
 “ I ought never to be without.

“ 2. I

“ 2. I am seriously yet at a Loss as to
 “ judging this Case, whether in this Country
 “ or there.

“ 3. If I can find clearly it is my Duty to
 “ return in order to Continuance at *Antrim*,
 “ I shall do it with high Complacency.

“ III. Quære; *Am I not afraid of mis-*
 “ *carrying in this undertaken Voy-*
 “ *age, by Shipwreck, &c.*

“ 1. I find little of that fear, I bless God.

“ 2. Nor is it that I think I have attain'd
 “ any eminent degree of Grace, that I am
 “ not afflicted with that fear: Nay more
 “ than that, I acknowledge, to be deliver'd
 “ from such fear, is it self a great Mercy,
 “ and gracious Vouchsafement.

“ 3. I hope I am in a state of favour and
 “ acceptance with God, which I apprehend
 “ I owe to infinite rich Mercy in the Re-
 “ deemer's Blood. Great forgiveness I need,
 “ for I am a miserable sinful Wretch: This I
 “ trust I have upon Gospel Terms.

“ 4. It is pleasant to me hereupon to think
 “ of going into Eternity; of laying down
 “ the body of Flesh and Sin and Death toge-
 “ ther; and of being perfectly holy, and
 “ associated with them that are so, in holy
 “ Work and Enjoyment.

“ 5. To put off this Tabernacle so easily,
 “ I reckon would to me be a merciful Dis-
 “ pensation,

“ penfation, who am more afraid of sharp
 “ Pains than of Death. I think I should joy-
 “ fully imbrace thofe Waves that should caft
 “ me on an undefign’d Shoar, and when I
 “ intended *Liverpool*, should land me in
 “ Heaven.

“ 6. Yet I blefs God I have no wearinefs
 “ of Life, nor of his Work in this World,
 “ if he fhall yet please farther to employ me
 “ here.

“ IV. Quære; *But am I not follici-*
 “ *tous, left if this should prove the*
 “ *Event, it will be judg’d a Testi-*
 “ *mony against me, as to this pre-*
 “ *sent Undertaking?*

“ 1. It is an honest Design I go upon. I
 “ have, as I faid, no felfifh Design that over-
 “ fways me in it. I have no design to preju-
 “ dice Mr. C— I believe I fhall do him no
 “ actual Prejudice. Wherein I can juftly be-
 “ friend him, I go resolv’d to do it. If I
 “ can do any thing for the holding of the
 “ Remainder together, without the neglect
 “ of greater Work, I do apprehend I fhall
 “ do a juft and needful thing: But should
 “ do nothing if I had opportunity, till I knew
 “ more. But,

“ 2. To judge of the Juftice of a Cause
 “ by the Succels, is a moft unjust way of
 “ judging. Many a juft Buſinefs has miſ-
 “ carry’d.

“ carry’d. If I get well into the other World,
 “ such Censures will be a small matter in my
 “ Eye; and they are not great now.

“ 3. God will accept my sincere Inten-
 “ tions, tho I effect nothing.

“ 4. My Journey was to me absolutely
 “ necessary, who could without it neither
 “ grant nor deny.

*Consolations to my Wife and other Relations,
 supposing they hear of my Death.*

“ 1. Whom or what have you lost? A
 “ poor Creature that could never be of much
 “ use to you.

“ 2. You are to consider me, not as lost
 “ in my prime, but as now I am sensibly un-
 “ der great decays, and not likely to con-
 “ tinue long, except some means hitherto
 “ not thought on, should have been tried.
 “ What a Summer had I of the last? seldom
 “ able to walk the Streets; and not only of-
 “ ten disabled by Pain, but Weakness. And
 “ what great Advantage to you would it
 “ have been to see me die? I know not
 “ when I have had so much ease and health
 “ as in this Journey.

“ 3. God not only hath determin’d the
 “ thing, we must die, but all Circumstances,
 “ when and where, and after what manner,
 “ and all wisely and well. Why should you
 “ be grieved, that he hath done well? not

“ only well in itself, but well for you, if you
 “ love him ?

“ 4. You must e’er long follow, and shall
 “ not be always in this World without me.

“ 5. What there is of Evil in this case, ad-
 “ mits of Remedy. Draw so much nearer to
 “ God, and cease from Man: Mind Heaven
 “ more, and your Loss is made up.

“ 6. I have thro the Grace of God, preach’d
 “ immortal Truth, which will survive, and
 “ may be to your Advantage.

“ 7. As to you who have Dependence up-
 “ on me for worldly concernments: I was
 “ never a good Projector for the World; so
 “ the Loss is not great. How many, Dear
 “ to God, make a shift, in a worse Condi-
 “ tion ! Forget not the motto, *God will*
 “ *provide*. He that feeds Ravens, and takes
 “ care of Sparrows, will he not take care of
 “ you ? Are you of his Family, and will he
 “ not take care of his own ? Instead of di-
 “ strust and repining, give *Thanks*. O bless
 “ him with all your Soul, that he hath re-
 “ vealed and given himself to you for an
 “ everlasting Portion; and whose Covenant
 “ is to be your God, and the God of yours.

“ 8. Let it be some satisfaction to you,
 “ that I go willingly, under no dread, with
 “ no regret, but with some comfortable
 “ Knowledge of my Way and End.”

With

With such Thoughts and workings of Mind as these, did he undertake and pursue his Voyage and Journey, and he arriv'd safe at *London* after having been five Years in *Ireland*: And upon mature Consideration, he accepted of the Call that had been given him, and settled there, and made a quiet and peaceable Use of King *Charles's* Indulgence, preaching to a considerable and judicious Auditory, by whom he was singularly respected; and he was much esteem'd, not only by his Brethren in the Ministry among the Dissenters, but also by several eminent Divines of the Church of *England*, as Dr. *Whitchcot*, Dr. *Kidder*, Dr. *Fowler*, Dr. *Lucas*, and others, whom he often convers'd with, and that with great freedom and familiarity.

He was no sooner settled here, than he printed the First Part of his *Living Temple*, by which it was his design to improve that Notion, that a good Man is the Temple of God. This First Part is upon God's Existence, and his Conversibleness with Man; and against *Atheism*, or the *Epicurean* Deism. 'Tis dedicated to the Lord Viscount *Massarene*, Governor of the County of *London-Derry*, and one of the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council in the Kingdom of *Ireland*: and he signifies to his Lordship, that this Tract was conceiv'd under his Roof, and born out of his House; and that he therefore thought it decent and just, that it

should openly own the relation which it thereby had, and the Author's great Obligations, to his Lordship.

In the year 1677, he publish'd a Tract, entitled, *The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience of the Sins of Men, with the Wisdom and Sincerity of his Counsels and Exhortations, and whatever other means he uses to prevent them*: Written by way of Letter to the honourable *Robert Boyle Esq*; This Treatise was exceedingly admir'd by some, and as much oppos'd by others. Mr. *Theophilus Gale* in particular, his old fellow Collegiate, publishing about this time his fourth part of *The Court of the Gentiles*, made some Animadversions upon it*. Whereupon Mr. *Howe* added a Postscript, in Defence of the said Letter, in which he makes a return to Mr. *Gale's* Remarks. Mr. *Danson* also wrote against this Tract, but I know not that Mr. *Howe* took any notice of him; tho the ingenious *Andrew Marvel Esq*; made a very witty and entertaining Reply to him. Upon the account of this Performance of his, Mr. *Wood* represents Mr. *Howe*, as a great and strict *Arminian*†; but very wrongfully. For that which he mainly asserts in that Discourse, is no more than this, that *it is inconceivable, that the holy and good God*

* See Court of the Gentiles, Part 4. pag. 522.

† Athen. Oxon: Vol. 2. pag. 1014.

should irresistably determine the Wills of Men to, and punish the same thing; that he should irresistably determine the Will of a Man to the hatred of his own most blessed self, and then exact severest Punishments for the Offence done, which the strictest Calvinist has not the least occasion (as far as I can perceive) to scruple to acknowledge. This Notion widely differs from asserting the blessed God universally to have left his reasonable Creatures an indetermin'd Power, with respect to all Actions, Good as well as Evil, to the utter exclusion of *Efficacious Grace*, in reference even to the best Actions that are. 'Tis that, that is the true *Arminian* Principle, if we may be allow'd to pass a Judgment, from the Works of the most eminent Writers that are in that Scheme. If all are *great and strict Arminians*, who cannot allow themselves to suppose the blessed God, by internal influence, to have an hand even in the worst and wickedest Actions, as far as in the best, I am persuaded there will be very few remaining but what are such, either here at home, or in any of the Reformed Churches abroad. As to Mr. *Howe*, he was so well satisfy'd in the firmness of the Grounds he went upon, that at last he did not stick to declare, that *if he found himself any way oblig'd farther to intermeddle in this matter, he should reckon the time he had to spend in this World, could never be spent to better purpose, than*

*in discovering the fearful Consequences of the opposite Opinion, the Vanity of the Subterfuges whereby its Assertors think to hide the malignity of it, and the inefficacy of the Arguments brought for it. **

But this was what he had no occasion for, God had cut out other Work for him. He went on quietly in a Course of Practical Preaching in his stated Ministry, and was very useful in forwarding many in their way to Heaven.

In the time of the *Popish Plot*, when things took a quite different turn from what they had done from the Restoration till then, and the City and whole body of the Nation was full of Terror and melancholy Apprehensions, he made it his endeavour among those with whom he had to do, to make the awful Impressions which People were at that time under, serviceable to the purposes of serious Religion: And in his Conversation with the Clergy of the Establish'd Church, or with Persons of Quality and Distinction, which was not unfrequent, he upon all occasions discover'd a very peaceable and healing Spirit, often giving it as his Sense, that an accommodation of Matters between the Church and the Dissenters, would be the most effectual way to keep out Popery. And it has been the Opinion of many, that a fitter season for

* Postscript, pag. 50.

an Union could not well occur, than did then present it self. The House of Commons who sat at *Westminster* in 1680, seem to have been of that mind, and therefore they brought in a Bill for *Uniting his Majesty's Protestant Subjects*, and nothing was more commonly talk'd of at that time. And not being able to go thro with it, they before they rose, came to a Resolution, that *the Acts of Parliament made in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James, against Popish Recusants, ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters*: and that, *the Prosecution of Protestant Dissenters, upon the Penal Laws, is at this time grievous to the Subject, a weakning the Protestant Interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.*

Mr. *Howe* had about this time, an invitation from Bishop *Lloyd*, to come and dine with him the next day. He was apprehensive, it could not be without some particular Design, that a Bishop whom he had not seen, or at least with whom he had no Acquaintance, should send to desire him to come and dine with him. He sent his Lordship word, that he was engag'd that Day for Dinner, (as he really was before the receipt of the Message sent him) but would not fail of waiting upon him afterwards. Hereupon the Bishop sent again, to let him know, that since he could not dine with him, he would not

give him the trouble to come so far as his House, but would meet him at Dr. *Tillotson's* the Dean of *Canterbury's*. They met there accordingly, and the Bishop told him that the reason why he desir'd a meeting with him, was to know of him, what he thought would satisfy the *Nonconformists*, that so they might be taken into the Church ‡. Mr. *Howe* answer'd, that he could not pretend to say what would satisfy any besides himself; for that all had not an equal *Latitude* in such Matters. The Bishop hereupon press'd him to give his Judgment, what he thought would satisfy the most; for says he, I would have the Terms so large as to comprehend the most of them. Mr. *Howe* told him, that he thought it would go a considerable way towards it, if the Law was but so fram'd, as that Ministers might be enabled to promote *Parochial Reformation*. Why, says the Bishop, for that reason, I am for taking the *Lay Chancellors* quite away, as being the great hindrance of Reformation. At length, they agreed upon a meeting the next Night, at seven a Clock, at Dr. *Stillingfleet's*, the Dean of *St. Pauls*. Mr. *Howe* propos'd to bring Mr. *Baxter* along with him; but the Bishop would by no means allow of it. Then he propos'd to bring Dr. *Bates*, and

‡ A Copy of the Heads of a Bill for uniting his Majesty's Protestant Subjects, which was agreed upon at a Committee of the House of Commons, Nov. 18. 1680, may be met with, *Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life*, Vol. I. p. 350.

was answer'd, that no Man could be more proper. Accordingly Dr. *Bates* and Mr. *Howe* went at seven in the Evening to Dean *Stillingfleet's*, as had been appointed the day before. The Dean had provided a very handsome Treat, but they found not the Company they expected. They waited till eight, till nine, till near ten a Clock; but the Bishop neither came, nor sent, nor took any notice of the matter afterwards. And that very Night, as they heard the next Morning, the *Bill of Exclusion* was thrown out of the House of Peers, by a majority of thirty Voices, fourteen of which were Bishops. And after this, there was no farther occasion for any talk about a *Comprehension*.

For upon this turn of Affairs, it is observ'd by a celebrated Writer on the Church-side, that *the Clergy struck up with Zeal for the Duke's Succession: As if a Popish King had been a special Blessing from Heaven, to be much long'd for by a Protestant Church. They likewise gave themselves such a loose against the Nonconformists, as if nothing was so formidable as that Party. So that in all their Sermons, Popery was quite forgot, and the force of their Zeal was turn'd almost wholly against the Dissenters **. Amongst the rest, Dean *Stillingfleet*, from whom it was little expected, on the first Day

* Bishop *Burnet's* History of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 501.

of *Easter* Term, 1680, in a Sermon before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City, the Judges and Serjeants, from *Phil.* iii. 16. (which Sermon he intituled, *The Mischief of Separation*,) took occasion to represent all the Nonconformists as Schismaticks, and inveigh against 'em as Enemies to Peace, and dangerous to the Church, &c. This Sermon was answer'd by Dr. Owen, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Barret, and others: And among the rest Mr. Howe made some Remarks upon it, in a Pamphlet, intituled, *A Letter written out of the Country to a Person of Quality in the City, who took offence at the late Sermon of Dr. Stillingfleet Dean of St. Pauls, before the Lord Mayor*; which Letter was drawn up with great clearness and strength of reasoning. He therein shews how unreasonably the Doctor endeavours to keep the Dissenters, who after the utmost search could not be satisfy'd to conform, in a state of Damnation, for scrupling the Ceremonies; at least in a neglect of the necessary means of Salvation. He shews his Arguments both *ad Rem* and *ad Hominem* too, to be unconcluding; reflects freely on the Doctor for his too great Acrimony, and too little Seriousness in his way of management; and yet closes with a very genteel and handsome Address to such as were offended with the Doctor's Sermon, to abate their Indignation, and moderate their Censures, and stir them

them up to turn their Reflections upon him, into serious Prayers for him, for which he shews there was very just occasion.

The Doctor himself sticks not to own, that in this Letter, *he discourses gravely and piously, without Bitterness and Rancor, or any sharp Reflections, and sometimes with a great mixture of kindness towards him, for which, and his Prayers for him, he heartily thanks him* †. This warm Sermon of the Doctor's was generally reckon'd very ill-tim'd, to which it's not unlikely but Bishop Burnet may have a Reference, when he says of that Great Man, that *he went into the Humours of the high sort of People, beyond what became him; perhaps beyond his own sense of things* ‡.

Nor can I forbear to take notice of another Sermon, that was preach'd this Year (1680) at Court, by Dean Tillotson, from *Josb. xxiv. 15.* intitled, *The Protestant Religion vindicated from the Charge of Singularity and Novelty.* In this Sermon there is this Notion; that no Man is oblig'd to preach against the Religion of a Country, tho a false one, unless he has a power of working Miracles. King Charles slept most part of the time while the Sermon was deliver'd: And a certain Nobleman step'd to him as soon as it was over,

† Preface to his *Unreasonableness of Separation*, pag. LXI, LXII.

‡ History of his own Times, Vol. I. pag. 189.

and said, 'tis pity your Majesty slept; for we had the rarest piece of *Hobbism* that ever you heard in your Life. Ods fish, he shall print it then, says the King; and immediately call'd the Lord Chamberlain, and gave him his Command to the Dean to print his Sermon. When it came from the Press, the Dean sent it as a Present to Mr. *Howe*, as he usually did most of the things he printed. Mr. *Howe* immediately perus'd it, and was not a little troubled, to find a notion there, that had so ill a tendency as that foremention'd. Whereupon he drew up a long Letter, in which he freely expostulated with the Dean, for giving such a wound to the Reformation; signifying to him, that *Luther* and *Calvin*, and the rest of our Blessed Reformers, were (thanks be to God) of another mind. The Christian Religion (said he) both as to its Precepts and Promises, is already confirm'd by Miracles; and must it be repeal'd, every time a wicked Governor thinks fit to establish a false Religion? must no one stand up for the true Religion, till he can work a Miracle? He signify'd to him, how much he was griev'd, that in a Sermon against Popery, he should plead the Popish Cause against all the Reformers; and insisted upon it, that we had incontestable Evidence of the Miracles wrought by the Apostles, and that we are bound to believe them, and take Religion to be establish'd by them, without any farther Expectations, &c.

Mr.

Mr. *Howe* carry'd the Letter himself, and deliver'd it into the Dean's own hands ; and he taking a general and cursory view of it, signify'd his willingness to talk that whole matter freely over ; but said, they could not be together where they were, without interruption, and therefore mov'd for a little Journey into the Country, that so they might have freedom of Discourse. They accordingly agreed to go and dine that day with the Lady *Falconbridge* at *Sutton-Court*, and Mr. *Howe* read over the Letter to the Dean, and enlarg'd upon the Contents of it, as they were travelling along together in his Chariot. The good Man at length fell to weeping freely, and said that this was the most unhappy thing that had of a long time befallen him. I see (says he) what I have offer'd is not to be maintain'd. But he told him, that it was not his turn to preach as on that Day. He that should have been the Preacher being sick, the Dean said, he was sent to by the Lord Chamberlain to supply his place: And he added, that he had but little notice, and so consider'd the general Fears of Popery, and this Text offer'd it self, and he thought the Notion resulted from it : And says he, immediately after preaching, I receiv'd a Command from the King to print the Sermon, and then it was not in my power to alter it. I am the better satisfy'd that there is no mistake as to the Substance of this Passage, because

because he from whom I had it, did not trust to his bare Memory, but committed it to Writing, presently after he receiv'd the account from Mr. *Howe* himself. And tho such a Story as this may make us sensible that the very best of Men have their slips, yet am I far from thinking it a dishonour to this Great Man, to be open to Conviction.

In 1681, the Dissenters were prosecuted with great Violence both in City and Country, and the severe Laws that had been made against them some Years before, as well as some that were made against the Papists in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, were rigorously put in execution against them, without any favour. Several of the Bishops concurr'd, and by influence from Court, were prevail'd with, to do their endeavour to push forward the Civil Magistrate, and to sharpen the rigour of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and that in defiance of the Votes of the House of Commons in their favour. And as Bishop *Burnet* observes, *such of the Clergy as would not engage in the common Fury, were cry'd out upon as the betrayers of the Church, and as secret favourers of the Dissenters* *. The Author of the *Complete History of England* † says, that *this Year there was a vigorous Prosecution of the*

* History of his own Times, Vol. i. pag. 501.

† Vol. 3. pag. 402.

Protestant Dissenters, which was generally thought a piece of Court-Artifice, to play the Church of England against the Dissenters, and enrage the Dissenters against the Church of England, that they might not unite and see their common Danger, but rather by destroying one another, might make room for a third Party, that lay behind the Curtain, and watch'd an opportunity of the Duke's Succession. And at this Juncture, Mr. Howe publish'd a Discourse of *Thoughtfulness for the morrow*, with an *Appendix*, concerning the immoderate desire of foreknowing Things to come, in 8vo. It is dedicated to the Lady *Anne Wharton*, of *Upper Winchington* in the County of *Bucks*, who had express'd a desire of seeing somewhat written on that Subject. To which is added, a *Discourse of Charity, in reference to other Mens Sins*, from 1 Cor. xiii. 6. He this Year also publish'd a Funeral Sermon on the decease of Mrs. *Margaret Baxter*, who dy'd June 28, from 2 Cor. v. 8.

In 1682, things were much in the same State as the Year before. This Year also Mr. Howe publish'd several little things; as a Discourse on *the right Use of that Argument in Prayer, from the Name of God, on behalf of a People that profess it*, from Jerem. xiv. 21. 8vo. A Discourse on *Self-Dedication*, at the Anniversary Thanksgiving of the Earl

Earl of *Kildare*, for a great Deliverance, in Twelves. And a Funeral Sermon for Mr. *Richard Fairclough*, who deceas'd July 4. from *Mat. xxv. 21.* And he now drew up those Annotations on the three Epistles of *St. John*, which are to be met with in the second Volume, or Continuation of Mr. *Pool*.

In 1683, there was a most cruel Order made by the Justices of Peace at the Quarter-Sessions at *Exon*, against all Nonconforming Ministers, allowing a Reward of Forty Shillings to any Person that apprehended any one of them, and declaring their Resolution to put in execution against them the severest Laws, and particularly that of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, the Penalties whereof are Imprisonment, Abjuration of the Realm, or Death. And Bishop *Lamplugh* (who was afterwards Archbishop of *York*) requir'd the Order to be read by all the Clergy on the next Sunday after it should be tendred to them, on purpose (as was said) *that the Care of the Justices of Devon, for the preservation of the Publick Peace, might be fuller known, and have a better Effect.*

The same Year there was publish'd in *the Continuation of the Morning Exercise*, an excellent Sermon of Mr. *Howe's*, from *Coloss. ii. 2.* upon this Question, *What may most hopefully be attempted, to allay Animosities among Protestants, that our Divisions may not be our Ruin?* “ In

“ In order to this, he earnestly recommends
 “ to all the Professors of Religion, the main-
 “ taining of a sincere Love to one another,
 “ and the improving of their Faith to greater
 “ measures of clearness, certainty, and effi-
 “ cacy, in reference to the Substantials of
 “ Christianity. A generous Love, not to
 “ Christians of this or that Party or Denomi-
 “ nation only, but to all in whom the true
 “ Essentials of Christianity are found, would
 “ (he says) greatly contribute to the vigour
 “ of the Christian Life. It would inspire
 “ Christians generally with a sacred Courage
 “ and Fortitude, when they should know and
 “ even feel themselves knit together in Love.
 “ It would on the contrary extinguish or a-
 “ bate the unhallowed Fire of our Anger and
 “ Wrath towards one another. It would ob-
 “ lige us to all Acts of mutual Kindness and
 “ Friendship. Prejudices would cease, and Jea-
 “ lousies concerning each other, and a mutual
 “ Confidence would be produc’d. It would
 “ make us earnestly covet an intire Union in
 “ all the things wherein we differ, and con-
 “ tribute greatly to it. It would make us
 “ much more apt to yield to one another,
 “ and abate all that ever we can, in order to
 “ as full an Accommodation as is any way
 “ possible; that if we cannot agree upon ei-
 “ ther extreme, we might at last meet in the
 “ middle. It would make us abstain from mu-
 “ tual Censures of one another as insincere for

“ our remaining differences ; and convince
“ us that such Censures are very unreasona-
“ ble, because all have not the same Under-
“ standing, nor the same Gust and Relish of
“ Things. It would oblige us, after compe-
“ tent Endeavours of mutual Satisfaction, a-
“ bout the matters wherein we differ, to for-
“ bear farther urging of one another concern-
“ ing them : And it would make us forbear
“ reviling and exposing one another, and the
“ industrious seeking one another’s Ruin.
“ And then if at the same time, we did but
“ endeavour to have our Souls possess’d with a
“ more clear, efficacious, practical Faith of
“ the Gospel, and our Hearts so overcome,
“ as practically and vitally to receive it, we
“ should apprehend the things to be truly
“ great, wherein we are to unite, and should,
“ in comparison, apprehend all things else to
“ be little ; and so should be more strongly
“ inclin’d to hold together by the things
“ wherein we agree, than to contend with
“ one another about the things wherein we
“ differ. Thus our Religion would revive,
“ and become a vital powerful thing ; and
“ consequently more grateful to God, and
“ awful to Men. And if we in our several
“ particular Stations are but herein careful, if
“ we but do our own part, we may be able
“ to say it was not our fault, but Christians
“ had been combined, and intirely one with
“ each other ; but they had been more tho-
“ roughly

“roughly Christian, and more intirely united
 “with God in Christ; and that Christianity
 “had been a more lively, powerful, awful,
 “amiable thing. If the Christian Community
 “moulder, decay, be infeebled, broken, de-
 “spirited, and ruin’d in great part, this Ruin
 “shall not rest under our Hands.

On *July 20* this Year, that Noble Patriot,
William Lord Russel, was beheaded in
Lincolns-Inn-Fields, to the no small
 Terror and Consternation of the true
 Lovers of their Country, and Friends
 of the Protestant Religion. This was
 a severe stroke upon the *Bedford* Family,
 and an unspeakable Loss to the excellent
 Lady, who was left a mournful Widow,
 and continu’d so to the Year 1723. when
 she went to her Grave full of Years.
 Mr. *Howe* upon this melancholy Oc-
 casion wrote a Consolatory Letter to
 her, which very well deserves to be
 preserv’d, and transmitted to Posterity;
 an Authentick Copy of which having
 been kept safe in his Family, here fol-
 lows.

MADAM,

I *T can avail you nothing, to let your
 Honour know, from what Hand this Pa-
 per comes; and my own Design in it is abun-*
 G 2 *dantly*

dantly answered, if what it contains proves useful to you. Your Affliction hath been great, unspeakably beyond what it is in my power or design to represent; and your Supports (in the Paroxysm of your Affliction) have been very extraordinary; and such as wherein all that have observ'd or heard, could not but acknowledge a divine Hand.

But your Affliction was not limited and enclosed within the Limits of one black Day, nor is like those more common ones, the sense whereof abates and wears off by time; but is continu'd, and probably more felt, as time runs on: Which therefore makes you need continu'd help from Heaven every Day.

Yet there is here a great Difference between what Expectations we may have of Divine Assistance, in the Beginning or first Violence of some great Affliction; and in the continu'd Course of it afterwards. At first we are apt to be astonish'd, a Consternation seizes our thinking Faculty, especially as to that Exercise of it, whereby it should minister to our Relief. In this Case the merciful God doth more extraordinarily assist such as sincerely trust and resign themselves to him; unto these, as his more peculiar Favourites, his sustaining Influences are more immediate, and more efficacious, so as even (in the present Exigency) to prevent and supersede any endeavour of theirs, whereof they are, then, less capable. And of the large-

largeness and bounty of his Goodness, in such a Case, few have had greater Experience than your Ladyship; which was eminently seen, in that Magnanimity, that Composure and presentness of Mind, much admir'd by your Friends, and no doubt by the special Favour of Heaven afforded you in the needful Season: so that while that amazing Calamity was approaching, and stood in nearer view, nothing that was fit or wise or great was omitted; nothing indecent done. Which is not now said, God knows, to flatter your Ladyship, (whereof the Progress will farther vindicate me :) For I ascribe it to God, as I trust your Ladyship, with unfeigned Gratitude, will also do. And I mention it, as that whereby you are under Obligation to endeavour, your continu'd Temper and Deportment may be agreeable to such beginnings.

For now (which is the other thing, whereof a distinct Observation ought to be had) in the continuance and settled state of the Affliction, when the Fury of the first Assault is over, and we have had leisure to recollect our selves, and recover our dissipated Spirits, tho we are then more sensible of pain and smart, yet also the power of using our own Thoughts is restor'd. And being so, altho we are too apt to use them to our greater Hurt and Prejudice, we are really put again into a capacity of using them to our Advantage, which our good God doth in much Wisdom and

Righteousness require we should do. Whereupon we are to expect his continual Assistance for our Support under continued Affliction, in the way of Concurrence and Co-operation with our due Use of our own Thoughts, aptly chosen, as much as in us is, and design'd by our selves, for our own Comfort and Support.

Now as for Thoughts suitable to your Honour's Case, I have reason to be conscious that what I shall write can make but little accession, I will not say to a Closet, but to a Mind so well furnish'd, as you are Owner of: Yet I know it is remote from you to slight a well-intended Offer and Essay, that really proceeds only from a very compassionate sense of your Sorrows, and unfeigned desire to contribute something (if the Father of Mercys, and the God of all Comforts and Consolations will please to favour the endeavour) to your Relief.

And the Thoughts which I shall most humbly offer, will have that first and more immediate Design, but to persuade your making use of your own; that is, that you would please to turn and apply them to Subjects more apt to serve this purpose, the moderating your own Grief, and the attaining an habitual well-temper'd Cheerfulness, for your remaining time in this World. For I consider how incident it is to the afflicted, to indulge to themselves an unlimited Liberty
in

in their Sorrows, to give themselves up to them, to make them Meat and Drink, to justify them in all their Excesses, as that (otherwise) good and holy Man of God did his Anger, and say, they do well to be sorrowful even to the Death, and (as another) to refuse to be comforted. And I also consider that our own Thoughts must, and will always be the immediate Ministers either of our Trouble or Comfort, tho as to the latter, God only is the supreme Author; and we altogether insufficient to think any thing that good is, as of our selves. It is God that comforts those that are cast down, but by our own Thoughts employed to that purpose, not without them.

I do not doubt, Madam, but if you once fixedly apprehend that there is Sin in an overabounding Sorrow, you will soon endeavour its restraint: For I cannot think you would more earnestly set your self to avoid any thing, than what you apprehend will offend God, especially the doing that in a continu'd Course. Is there any time when Joy in God is a Duty? 'Tis very plain the Sorrow that excludes it is a Sin. How the former may appear to be a Duty, and how far, let it be consider'd.

It is not to be doubted but that he that made us hath a right to rule us; he that gave us Being, to give us Law: nor again, that the Divine Government reaches our Minds,

and that they are the prime and first Seat of his Empire. His Kingdom is within us. We are not then, to exercise our Thoughts, Desires, Love, Joy, or Sorrow, according to our own Will but his; not as we please, or find our selves inclin'd, but suitably to his Precepts and Purposes, his Rules and Ends.

'Tis evident that withal, the earthly State is mixed, intermediate between the perfect Felicity of Heaven, and the total Misery of Hell: And farther, that the Temper of our Spirits ought to have in it a mixture of Joy and Sorrow, proportionable to our State, or what there is in it of the just Occasions or Causes of both.

Where Christianity obtains, and the Gospel of our Saviour is preach'd, there is much greater cause of Joy than elsewhere. The visible Aspect of it imports a Design to form Mens Minds to Gladness, in as much as, wheresoever it comes, it proclaims Peace to the World, and represents the offended Majesty of Heaven willing to be reconcil'd to his offending Creatures on Earth. So the Angel prefac'd the Gospel, when our Lord was born into the World, Luke 2. I tell you glad Tidings of great Joy, which shall be to all People. And so the multitude of accompanying Angels sum it up; Glory be to God in the highest, Peace on Earth, good Will towards Men.

To them that truly receive the Gospel, and with whom it hath its Effect, the Cause of rejoicing riseth much higher. For if the Offer and Hope of Reconciliation be a just ground of Joy, how much more actual agreement with God, upon the Terms of the Gospel, and Reconciliation it self! We rejoice in God thro Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the Atonement, Rom. V. 11. To such there are express Precepts given to rejoice in the Lord always, Phil. IV. 4. And lest that should be thought to have been spoken hastily, and that it might have its full weight, that great Apostle immediately adds, and again I say to you rejoice. And elsewhere, rejoice evermore, 1 Thess. V. 16.

Hence therefore the genuine right Temper and Frame of a truly Christian Mind and Spirit may be evidently concluded to be this, (for such Precepts do not signify nothing, nor can they be understood to signify less) viz. an habitual Joyfulness, prevailing over all the temporary occasions of Sorrow, that occur to them. For none can be thought of that can pre-ponderate, or be equal to the just and great Causes of their Joy. This is the true Frame, Model, and Constitution of the Kingdom of God, which ought to have place in us; herein it consists, viz. in Righteousness and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost, Rom. XIV. 17.

Nor is this a Theory only, or the Idea and Notion of an excellent Temper of Spirit, which we may contemplate indeed, but can never attain to. For we find it also to have been the Attainment, and usual Temper of Christians heretofore, that being justify'd by Faith, and having Peace with God, they have rejoiced in hope of the Glory of God, unto that degree, as even to glory in their Tribulations also, Rom. V. 1, 2, 3. And that in the Confidence they should be kept by the Power of God, thro Faith unto Salvation, they have hereupon greatly rejoiced, tho with some mixture of heaviness (whereof there was need) from their manifold Trials. But that their Joy did surmount and prevail over their Heaviness is manifest; for this is spoken of with much diminution, whereas they are said to rejoice greatly, and with a Joy unspeakable and full of Glory, 1 Pet. I. 5, 6, 8.

Yea, and such Care hath the great God taken for the preserving of this Temper of Spirit among his People more antiently, that even their Sorrow for Sin it self (the most justifiable of all other) hath had Restraints put upon it, lest it should too long exclude or intermit the exercise of this Joy. For when a great Assembly of them were universally in Tears, upon hearing the Law read, and the Sense given, they were forbidden to weep or mourn, or be sorry, because the Joy of the

the Lord was their Strength, *Nehem. VIII. 8, 9, 10.* That most just Sorrow had been unjust, had it been continu'd, so as to exclude the seasonable turn and alternation of this Joy. For even such Sorrow it self is not required, or necessary for it self. 'Tis remote from the Goodness and Benignity of God's ever-blessed Nature, to take pleasure in the Sorrows of his People, as they are such, or that they should sorrow for Sorrow's sake; but only as a means and preparative to their following Joy. And nothing can be more unreasonable, than that the Means should exclude the End, or be us'd against the Purpose they should serve.

It is then upon the whole most manifest, that no temporary Affliction whatsoever, upon one who stands in special Relation to God, as a reconciled (and which is consequent, an adopted) Person, tho attended with the most aggravating Circumstances, can justify such a Sorrow (so deep or so continu'd) as shall prevail against, and shut out a religious holy Joy, or hinder it from being the prevailing Principle in such a one. What can make that Sorrow allowable, or innocent, (what Event of Providence, that can, whatever it is, be no other than an accident to our Christian state) that shall resist the most natural Design and End of Christianity it self? that shall deprave and debase the truly Chris-
tian

tian Temper, and disobey and violate most express Christian Precepts? subvert the Constitution of Christ's Kingdom among Men? and turn this Earth (the place of God's Treaty with the Inhabitants of it, in order to their Reconciliation to himself, and to the Reconciled the Portal and Gate of Heaven, yea and where the State of the very worst and most miserable has some mixture of Good in it, that makes the Evil of it less than that of Hell) into a mere Hell to themselves, of Sorrow without mixture, and wherein shall be nothing but weeping and wailing.

*The Cause of your Sorrow, Madam, is exceeding great. The Causes of your Joy are inexpressibly greater. You have infinitely more left than you have lost. Doth it need to be disputed whether God be better and greater than Man? or more to be valu'd, lov'd, and delighted in? and whether an eternal Relation be more considerable than a temporary one? Was it not your constant sense in your best outward State, Whom have I in Heaven but thee O God, and whom can I desire on Earth, in comparison of thee! Psal. LXXIII. 25. Herein the state of your Ladyship's Case is still the same, (if you cannot rather with greater clearness, and with less hesitation pronounce those latter Words.) The principal Causes of your Joy are immutable, such as no supervening thing can alter. You have lost a most pleasant, delectable,
earthly*

earthly Relative. Doth the Blessed God hereby cease to be the best and most excellent Good? Is his Nature chang'd? his everlasting Covenant revers'd and annull'd? which is order'd in all things and sure, and is to be all your Salvation and all your Desire, whether he make your House on Earth to grow or not to grow, 2 Sam. XXIII. 4. That Sorrow which exceeds the proportion of its Cause, compar'd with the remaining true and real Causes of rejoicing, is in that excess causeless; i. e. that Excess of it wants a Cause, such as can justify or afford Defence unto it.

We are requir'd, in reference to our nearest Relations in this World, (when we lose them) to weep as if we wept not, as well as (when we enjoy them) to rejoice as if we rejoiced not, because our time here is short, and the fashion of this World passeth away, 1 Cor. VII. 29, 30, 31. We are finite Beings, and so are they. Our Passions in reference to them, must not be infinite, and without limit, or be limited only by the limited capacity of our Nature, so as to work to the utmost extent of that, as the Fire burns, and the Winds blow, as much as they can: But they are to be limited by the Power, Design, and Endeavour of our Reason and Grace (not only by the mere impotency of our Nature) in reference to all created Objects. Whereas in reference to the infinite uncrea-
ted

ted Good, towards which there is no danger or possibility of exceeding in our Affection, we are never to design to our selves any Limits at all; for that would suppose we had lov'd God enough, or as much as he deserv'd, which were not only to limit our selves, but him too; and were a constructive denial of his infinite immense Goodness, and consequently of his very Godhead. Of so great concernment it is to us, that in the liberty we give our Affections, we observe the just difference which ought to be in their Exercise, towards God, and towards Creatures.

It is also to be consider'd, that the great God is pleas'd so to condescend, as himself to bear the name, and sustain the capacity of our nearest Earthly Relations; which implys that what they were to us, in this or that kind, he will be in a transcendent, and far more noble kind. I doubt not but your Ladyship hath good right to apply to your self those Words of the Prophet, Isa. LVI. 5. Thy Maker is thy Husband, &c. Whereupon, as he infinitely transcends all that is delectable in the most excellent Earthly Relation, it ought to be endeavour'd, that the Affection plac'd on him should proportionably excel. I cannot think any Person in the World would be a more severe or impartial Judge of a criminal Affection than your Ladyship: Or that it would look worse unto any Eye, if any one should so deeply take to heart

heart the Death of an unrelated Person, as never to take Pleasure more, in the Life, Presence, and Conversation of one most nearly related. And you do well know that such an height (or that Supremacy) of Affection, as is due to the ever-blessed God, cannot without great injury, be placed any where else. As we are to have none other God before him; so him alone we are to love with all our Heart and Soul, and Might and Mind.

And it ought farther to be remembred, that whatsoever Interest we have or had in any the nearest Relative on Earth, his Interest who made both is far superior. He made us and all things primarily for himself, to serve great and important Ends of his own: So that our satisfaction in any Creature, is but secondary and collateral to the principal design of its Creation.

Which Consideration would prevent a practical Error and Mistake that is too usual with pious Persons, afflicted with the Loss of any near Relation, that they think the chief intention of such a Providence is their Punishment. And hereupon they are apt to justify the utmost excesses of their Sorrow, upon such an occasion, accounting they can never be sensible enough of the Divine Displeasure appearing in it; and make it their whole business, (or employ their time and thoughts beyond a due Proportion) to find out and fasten upon some particular Sin of theirs,

theirs, which they may judge God was offended with them for, and design'd now to punish upon them. It is indeed the part of filial ingenuity, deeply to apprehend the Displeasure of our Father, and an Argument of great Sincerity, to be very inquisitive after any Sin for which we may suppose him displeased with us, and apt to charge ourselves severely with it, tho perhaps upon utmost inquiry, there is nothing particularly to be reflected on, other than common infirmity incident to the best, (and it is well when at length we can make that Judgment, because there really is no more, not for that we did not enquire) and perhaps also God intended no more in such a Dispensation, (as to what concern'd us in it) than only, in the general, to take off our Minds and Hearts more from this World, and draw them more intirely to himself. For if we were never so innocent, must therefore such a Relative of ours have been immortal? But the Error in practice as to this Case, lies here; not that our Thoughts are much exercised this way, but too much. We ought to consider in every Case, principally, that which is principal. God did not create this or that excellent Person, and place him for a while in the World, principally to please us; nor therefore doth he take him away, principally to displease or punish us; but for much nobler and greater Ends which he hath propos'd to himself concerning

cerning him. Nor are we to reckon our selves so little interested in the Great and Sovereign Lord of all, whom we have taken to be our God, and to whom we have absolutely resign'd and devoted our selves, as not to be oblig'd to consider and satisfy our selves, in his pleasure, purposes, and ends, more than our own, apart from his.

Such as he hath pardoned, accepted, and prepared for himself, are to serve and glorify him in an higher and more excellent capacity, than they ever could in this wretched World of ours, and wherein they have themselves the highest satisfaction. When the Blessed God is pleas'd in having attain'd and accomplish'd the End and Intendments of his own boundless Love, (too great to be satisfy'd with the conferring of only temporary Favours in this imperfect State) and they are pleas'd in partaking the full Effects of that Love; who are we, that we should be displeas'd? or that we should oppose our satisfaction, to that of the Glorious God, and his glorify'd Creature? Therefore Madam, whereas you cannot avoid to think much on this Subject, and to have the removal of that incomparable Person, for a great Theme of your Thoughts, I do only propose most humbly to your Honour, that you would not confine them to the sadder and darker part of that Theme. It hath also a bright side; and it equally belongs to it, to consider whither he

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is

is gone, and to whom, as whence and from whom. Let I beseech you, your Mind be more exercis'd in contemplating the Glories of that State your Blessed Consort is translated unto, which will mingle pleasure and sweetness with the bitterness of your afflicting Loss, by giving you a daily intellectual participation (thro the exercise of Faith and Hope) in his Enjoyments. He cannot descend to share with you in your Sorrows; you may thus every day ascend, and partake with him in his Joys. He is a pleasant Subject to consider. A prepared Spirit made meet for an Inheritance with them that are sanctify'd, and with the Saints in Light, now entred into a State so connatural, and wherein it finds every thing most agreeable to itself. How highly grateful is it to be united with the true Centre, and come home to the Father of Spirits! To consider how pleasant a Welcome, how joyful an Entertainment he hath met with above! How delighted an Associate he is with the General Assembly, the innumerable Company of Angels, and the Spirits of Just Men made perfect! How joyful an Homage he continually pays to the Throne of the Celestial King!

Will your Ladyship think that an hard saying of our departing Lord to his mournful Disciples, If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, that I said I go to the Father; for my Father is greater than I? As if he had said, he
sits

sits inthron'd in higher Glory than you can frame any Conception of, by beholding me in so mean a condition on Earth. We are as remote, and as much short in our thoughts as to the conceiving the Glory of the Supreme King, as a Peasant, who never saw any thing better than his own Cottage, from conceiving the Splendor of the most glorious Prince's Court. But if that Faith, which is the Substance of things hoped for, and the Evidence of things not seen, be much accusom'd to its proper Work and Business, the daily delightful visiting and viewing the glorious invisible Regions; if it be often conversant in those vast and spacious Tracts of pure and brightest Light, and amongst the Holy Inhabitants that replenish them; if it frequently employ itself in contemplating their comely Order, perfect Harmony, sublime Wisdom, unspotted Purity, most fervent mutual Love, delicious Conversation with one another, and perpetual pleasant Consent in their Adoration and Observance of their eternal King! who is there to whom it would not be a solace to think I have such and such Friends and Relatives (some perhaps as dear as my own Life) perfectly well pleas'd, and happy among them! How can your Love, Madam, (so generous a Love towards so deserving an Object!) how can it but more fervently sparkle in Joy, for his sake, than dissolve in Tears for your own?

Nor should such thoughts excite over-hasty impatient desires of following presently into Heaven, but to the endeavours of serving God more chearfully on Earth, for our appointed time: Which I earnestly desire your Ladyship would apply your self to, as you would not displease God, who is your only Hope, nor be cruel to your self, nor dishonour the Religion of Christians, as if they had no other Consolations than this Earth can give, and earthly Power take from them. Your Ladyship (if any one) would be loth to do any thing unworthy your Family and Parentage. Your highest Alliance is to that Father and Family above, whose Dignity and Honour are I doubt not of highest account with you.

I multiply Words, being loth to lose my Design. And shall only add that Consideration, which cannot but be valuable with you, upon his first Proposal, who had all the Advantages imaginable to give it its full weight; I mean that of those dear Pledges left behind: My own Heart even bleeds to think of the Case of those sweet Babes, should they be bereav'd of their other Parent too. And even your continu'd visible Dejection would be their unspeakable disadvantage. You will always naturally create in them a Reverence of you; and I cannot but apprehend how the constant Meen, Aspect, and Deportment of such a Parent will insensibly influence the
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Temper of dutiful Children; and (if that be sad and despondent) depress their Spirits, blunt and take off the edge and quickness, upon which their future Usefulness and Comfort will much depend. Were it possible their (now glorious) Father should visit and inspect you, would you not be troubled to behold a Frown in that bright serene Face? You are to please a more penetrating Eye, which you will best do, by putting on a Temper and Deportment suitable to your weighty Charge and Duty; and to the great purposes for which God continues you in the World, by giving over unnecessary solitude and retirement, which (tho it pleases) doth really prejudice you, and is more than you can bear. Nor can any Rules of Decency require more. Nothing that is necessary and truly Christian, ought to be reckon'd unbecoming. David's Example, 2 Sam. XII. 20. is of too great Authority to be counted a Pattern of Indecency. The God of Heaven lift up the light of his Countenance upon you, and thereby put gladness into your Heart; and give you to apprehend him saying to you, arise and walk in the Light of the Lord.

That I have us'd so much freedom in this Paper, I make no Apology for; but do therefore hide myself in the dark, not judging it consistent with that plainness which I thought the Case might require, to give any other account of my self, than that I am one deeply

sensible of your, and your noble Relatives great Affliction, and who scarce ever bow the Knee before the Mercy-Seat without remembering it : And who shall ever be,

M A D A M,

Your Ladyship's

Most sincere Honourer, and

Most humble devoted Servant.

Tho Mr. *Howe* did not put his Name to this his Consolatory Epistle, yet the Style, and several Particularities in it, soon discover'd who was the Author. The Lady sent him a Letter of Thanks, and told him that he must not expect to remain conceal'd. She promis'd to endeavour to follow the Advice he had given her, and often wrote to him afterwards, some of which Letters I have seen and read, and they shew that his Freedom was taken kindly, and his Pains well bestow'd.

'Tis observ'd by Bishop *Burnet**, concerning this excellent Person the Lord *Russel*, who dy'd a Martyr for the Liberties of his Country, that he *was a Man of great Candor, and of a general Reputation, universally belov'd and trusted, of a generous and obliging Temper. He had given such Proofs*

* History of his own Times, Vol. i. pag. 388.

of an undaunted Courage, and of an unshaken Firmness, that the Bishop says, he never knew any Man have so intire a Credit in the Nation as he had. He adds, that he had from his first Education an inclination to favour the Nonconformists, and wish'd the Laws could have been made easier to them. On the other hand, the High Party represented him, as one that had no very favourable opinion of the English Clergy in general, as thinking them for the most part a set of Men too much bigotted to slavish Principles, and not zealous enough for the Protestant Religion, or the common Interest of a free Nation †. 'Tis hop'd, that the remaining Branches of that noble Family, will adhere to his Principles, and imitate his glorious Example.

I go on to the Year 1684, in which Mr. Howe publish'd a Treatise, on Luke XIX. 41, 42. intitled, *The Redeemer's Tears wept over lost Souls*; with an Appendix, where somewhat is occasionally discours'd, concerning the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, and how God is said to will the Salvation of them that perish.

Bishop Burnet owns, that the Prosecution of the Dissenters was carry'd very high all this Year. They were not only proceeded

† See the Life of Mr. Kettlewell, in 8vo. pag. 58.

against for going to Conventicles, as he is pleas'd to call their private Meetings for the Worship of God, but for not going to Church, and for not receiving the Sacrament. The Laws made against Papists, with relation to those Particulars, being now apply'd to them. Many were excommunicated and ruin'd by these Prosecutions †.

Among other warm things which at that time came from the Press, there was a Letter publish'd by Bishop Barlow of Lincoln, for the putting in execution the Laws against the Dissenters: And this was written in concurrence with that which was drawn up by the Justices of the Peace of the County of Bedford, bearing date, Jan. 14. 1684. In Answer to this warm and angry printed Letter of the Bishop of Lincoln, Mr. Howe sent his Lordship a free Letter by the Post, a Copy whereof has been preserv'd, and here follows.

Right Reverend,

AS I must confess my self surpriz'd by your late publish'd Directions to your Clergy of the County of Bedford, so nor will I dissemble, that I did read them with some trouble of Mind, which I sincerely profess was more upon your Lordship's ac-

† Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. 1. pag. 591.

‘ count than my own, (who for my self am
 ‘ little concern’d) or any other particular
 ‘ Person’s whatsoever. It was such as it had
 ‘ not been very difficult for me to have con-
 ‘ cealed in my own Breast, or only to have
 ‘ express’d it to God in my Prayers for you,
 ‘ (which thro his Grace I have not altoge-
 ‘ ther omitted to do) if I had not appre-
 ‘ hended it not utterly impossible; (as I trust
 ‘ I might, without arrogating unduly to my
 ‘ self) that some or other of those Thoughts,
 ‘ which I have revolv’d in my own Mind
 ‘ upon this occasion, being only hinted to
 ‘ your Lordship, might appear to your very
 ‘ sagacious Judgment, (for which I have had
 ‘ long, and have still a continuing Venera-
 ‘ tion) some way capable of being cultivated
 ‘ by your own mature and second thoughts,
 ‘ so as not to be wholly unuseful to your
 ‘ Lordship.

‘ My own Judgment, such as it is, in-
 ‘ clines me not to oppose any thing, either,
 ‘ 1. To the Lawfulness of the things them-
 ‘ selves which you so much desire should ob-
 ‘ tain in the Practice of the People under
 ‘ your Lordship’s Pastoral Inspection: Or 2.
 ‘ To the desirable comeliness of an Unifor-
 ‘ mity in the publick and solemn Worship of
 ‘ God: Or 3. To the fitness of making Laws
 ‘ for the effecting of such Uniformity: Or, 4.
 ‘ To the execution of such Laws, upon some
 ‘ such Persons as may possibly be found a-
 ‘ mong

‘ mong so numerous a People as are under
‘ your Lordship’s Care.

‘ But the things which I humbly conceive
‘ are to be deliberated on, are 1. Whether
‘ *all* the Laws that are in being about mat-
‘ ters of that nature, ought now to be exe-
‘ cuted upon *all* the Persons which any way
‘ transgress them, without distinction of ei-
‘ ther? 2. Whether it was so well, that
‘ your Lordship should advise and press that
‘ indistinct Execution, which the Order (to
‘ which the subjoin’d Directions of your
‘ Lordship do succenturiate) seems to intend;
‘ supposing that designed Execution were fit
‘ in it self.

‘ I shall not need to speak severally to
‘ these Heads: Your Lordship will sufficient-
‘ ly distinguish what is applicable the one
‘ way or the other. But I humbly offer to
‘ your Lordship’s further Consideration, whe-
‘ ther it be not a supposable thing, that some
‘ Persons sound in the Faith, strictly Ortho-
‘ dox in all the Articles of it taught by our
‘ Lord Jesus or his Apostles, resolutely Loy-
‘ al, and subject to the Authority of their
‘ Governors in Church and State, of pious,
‘ sober, peaceable, just, charitable Disposi-
‘ tions and Deportments; may yet (while
‘ they agree with your Lordship in that evi-
‘ dent Principle, both by the Law of Nature
‘ and Scripture, that their Prince and infe-
‘ rior Rulers ought to be actively obey’d in
‘ all

‘ all law ful things) have a formed fixed Judg-
 ‘ ment, (for what were to be done in the case
 ‘ of a mere doubt, that hath not arriv’d to a
 ‘ settled preponderation this way or that, is
 ‘ not hard to determine) of the unlawful-
 ‘ nefs of some or other of the Rites and
 ‘ Modes of Worship injoin’d to be observ’d
 ‘ in this Church? For my own part, tho
 ‘ perhaps I should not be found to differ
 ‘ much from your Lordship in most of the
 ‘ things here referr’d unto, I do yet think
 ‘ that few Metaphysical Questions are disput-
 ‘ ed with nicer subtlety, than the matter of
 ‘ the Ceremonies has been by Archbishop
 ‘ *Whitgift, Cartwright, Hooker, Parker,*
 ‘ *Dr. Burgess, Dr. Ames, Gillespy, Jeanes,*
 ‘ *Calderwood, Dr. Owen, Baxter, &c.* Now
 ‘ is it impossible that a sincere and sober
 ‘ Christian may, with an honest Heart, have
 ‘ so weak Intellectuals, as not to be able to
 ‘ understand all the Punctilios upon which a
 ‘ right Judgment of such a matter may de-
 ‘ pend? And is it not possible there may be
 ‘ such a thing, as a mental as well as a mere-
 ‘ ly sensitive Antipathy, not vincible by or-
 ‘ dinary methods? Is there no difference to
 ‘ be put between things *Essential* to our Re-
 ‘ ligion, and things confess’d *indifferent* on
 ‘ the one hand, and on the other judg’d *un-*
 ‘ *lawful*; on both hands but *accidental*?
 ‘ (tho they that think ’em *unlawful*, dare
 ‘ not allow themselves a liberty of sinning,
 ‘ even

‘ even in *accidentals*.) If your Lordship were
‘ the *Paterfamilias* to a numerous Family
‘ of Children and Servants, among whom
‘ one or other very dutiful Child takes of-
‘ fence, not at the sort of Food you have
‘ thought fit should be provided, but some-
‘ what in the Sauce or way of dressing,
‘ which thereupon he forbears; you try all
‘ the means which your Paternal Wisdom and
‘ Severity thinks fit, to overcome that aver-
‘ sion, but in vain; would you finally famish
‘ this Child, rather than yield to his inclina-
‘ tion in so small a thing?

‘ My Lord, your Lordship well knows the
‘ Severity of some of those Laws which you
‘ press for the execution of is such, as be-
‘ ing executed, they must infer the utter ruin
‘ of them who observe them not, in their
‘ temporal concernments; and not that on-
‘ ly, but their deprivation of the comforta-
‘ ble Advantages appointed by our Blessed
‘ Lord, for promoting their spiritual and eter-
‘ nal Well-being. I cannot but be well per-
‘ suaded not only of the mere sincerity, but
‘ eminent sanctity of divers, upon my own
‘ Knowledge and Experience of them, who
‘ would sooner die at a Stake, than I or any
‘ Man can prevail with ’em (notwithstanding
‘ our Rubrick, or whatever can be said to
‘ facilitate the matter) to kneel before the
‘ consecrated Elements at the Lord’s Table.
‘ Would your Lordship necessitate such, *per-*
‘ *dere*

dere substantiam propter accidentia? What
 if there be considerable Numbers of such in
 your Lordship's vastly numerous Flock;
 will it be comfortable to you, when an ac-
 count is demanded of your Lordship by the
 great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls concern-
 ing them, only to be able to say, Tho Lord
 I did believe the Provisions of thine House
 purchas'd for 'em, necessary and highly use-
 ful for their Salvation, I drove them away
 as Dogs and Swine from thy Table, and
 stirr'd up such other Agents as I could in-
 fluence against them, by whose means I re-
 duc'd many of 'em to beggary, ruin'd many
 Families, banish'd them into strange Coun-
 tryes, where they might (for me) serve o-
 ther Gods; and this not for disobeying
 any immediate Ordinance or Law of thine,
 but because for fear of offending thee, they
 did not in every thing comport with my
 own appointments, or which I was directed
 to urge and impose upon them? How well
 would this Practice agree with that Aposto-
 lical Precept, *Him that is weak in the*
Faith receive, but not to doubtful Disputa-
tions? I know not how your Lordship
 would relieve your self in this case, but by
 saying they were not weak, nor conscienti-
 ous, but wilful and humourfome. But what
 shall then be said to the subjoined Expostu-
 lation, *Who art thou that judgest thy Bro-*
ther? We shall all stand before the Judg-
ment-

ment-Seat of Christ. What if they have
appear'd conscientious, and of a very un-
blameable Conversation in all things else?
What if better qualify'd for Christian Com-
munion in all other respects, than thou-
sands you admitted? If you say you know
of none such under your Charge so severely
dealt with, it will be said, why did you use
such Severity toward them you did not
know? or urge and animate them to use
it, whom you knew never likely to dis-
tinguish? A very noted Divine of the
Church of England, said to me in Dis-
course not very long ago, upon mention
of the Ceremonies, *Come, come, the Chris-
tian Church and Religion is in a Con-
sumption; and it ought to be done as in
the Case of Consumptive Persons, shave
off the Hair to save the Life.* Another
(a dignify'd Person) present, reply'd, *I
doubt not it will be so, in the Philadelphian
State.* I long thought few had been in the
temper of their Minds nearer it than your
Lordship, and am griev'd, not that I so
judg'd, but that I am mistaken; and to see
your Lordship the first publick Example to
the rest of your Order in such a Course.
Blessed Lord! How strange is it that so long
Experience will not let us see, that little,
and so very disputable Matters can never
be the Terms of Union so much to be desir'd
in

' in the Christian Church ; and that in such
 ' a case as ours is, nothing will satisfy, but
 ' the Destruction of them, whose Union up-
 ' on so nice Terms we cannot obtain ; and
 ' then to call *Solitudinem, Pacem* ! But we
 ' must, it seems, understand all this Rigour
 ' your Lordship shews, to proceed from Love,
 ' and that you are for destroying the Dissen-
 ' ters, only to mend their Understandings,
 ' and because *Afflictio dat Intellectum*. I
 ' hope indeed God will sanctify the Affliction
 ' which you give and procure them, to blef-
 ' sed purposes ; and perhaps *periissent nisi*
 ' *periissent* : But for the purposes your Lord-
 ' ship seems to aim at, I wonder what you
 ' can expect ? Can you by undoing Men,
 ' change the Judgment of their Consciences ?
 ' Or if they should tell you, we do indeed
 ' in our Consciences judge, we shall greatly
 ' offend God, by complying with your In-
 ' junctions, but yet to save being undone,
 ' we will do it : Will this qualify them for
 ' your Communion ? If your Lordship think
 ' still, you have judg'd and advis'd well in
 ' this matter, you have the Judgment of
 ' our Sovereign, upon twelve years Expe-
 ' rience, lying against you : You have as to
 ' one of the Laws you would have executed,
 ' the Judgment of both Houses of Parliament
 ' against you, who pass'd a Bill (to which
 ' perhaps you consented) for taking it a-
 ' way.

‘ way *. You have (as to all of them) the
 ‘ Judgment of the last House of Commons
 ‘ sitting at *Westminster*, so far as to the Sea-
 ‘ son then, of executing those Laws. It may
 ‘ be your Lordship thinks it now a fitter Sea-
 ‘ son : But if you have misjudg’d, or misdone
 ‘ against your Judgment, I pray God to
 ‘ rectify your Error by gentler Methods,
 ‘ and by less Affliction than you have de-
 ‘ sign’d to your Brethren : And do not for
 ‘ all this doubt, (any more for your part
 ‘ than my own) to meet you there one Day,
 ‘ where *Luther* and *Zuinglius* are well a-
 ‘ greed. If I did think that would contri-
 ‘ bute any thing to the honest and truly cha-
 ‘ ritable design of this Letter, I should freely
 ‘ and at large tell you my Name : And do
 ‘ however tell you, I am,

A sincere Honourer of your Lordship,

And your very faithful, humble Servant.

* The *Compleat History of England*, Vol. 3. pag. 393, tells
 us, That the Commons in 1680, prepared a Bill for exempting
 his Majesty’s Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of
 England, from the Penalties impos’d upon the Papists, by repealing
 the Act of 35 Eliz. This Bill pass’d the Commons, and was
 agreed to by the Lords, and lay ready for his Majesty’s Assent.
 But when his Majesty came to the Throne, to pass this among
 other Bills, this was taken from the Table, and never heard of
 after. Which no Man durst have done, without the King’s
 Command, or at least his privy and connivance at it. The
 Loss of this Bill was complain’d of, in the next Parliament at
 Oxford, but without Satisfaction or Redress.

What

What effects this Letter might have I know not, but I must confess I think it to have been very strong and moving, and likely to make Impression.

In 1685, the Dissenters were run down universally, and hardly any one durst speak or write in their Favour; and the Prospects People had with respect to the Publick, grew every day more and more gloomy. Mr. *Howe* therefore having an invitation given him by the Lord *Wharton* to travel with him abroad, into foreign Parts, accepted it readily. He had so little time given him to prepare for his Voyage, which he entred upon in the Month of *August* this year, that he had not an opportunity of taking leave of his Friends, but sent a Letter to them from the other side the Water, which was thus directed.

To such in and about London, among whom I have labour'd in the Work of the Gospel.
It here follows.

My most dearly beloved in our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Grace, Mercy, and Peace, be thro him multiply'd unto you.

• **T**HAT I am at this time at this distance from you, is I am persuaded
• (upon the Experience I have had of your
I great

great Love and Value of my poor Labours) not pleasant to you, and I do assure you it is grievous to me, tho I murmur not at the Wise and Holy Providence that hath order'd things thus, in reference to you and me: But it added to my Trouble, that I could not so much as bid Farewel to Persons to whom I had so great Indearments, the Solemnity whereof you know our Circumstances would not admit. Nor could I have opportunity to communicate to you the Grounds of my taking this long Journey, being under Promise while the matter was under Consideration, not to speak of it to any one that was not concern'd immediately about it: Neither could I think that imprudent in it self, where Acquaintance was so numerous; Silence towards dearest Friends in such Cases usually being design'd for an Apology to all others. And after the Resolution was taken, my Motion depending on another, I had not time for that, or any such Purposes. And should I yet communicate them, as they lie particularly in my own thoughts, it would lose time that I may more profitably employ, for both you and my self, while I do it not. You will I may be confident be more prudent and equal, than to judge of what you do not know: But so much I shall in the general say, that the Providence of God gave me the prospect of a
present

' present quiet Abode, with some opportunity
 ' of being serviceable; (and I hope as it may
 ' prove thro his Help and Blessing, unto you,
 ' if I have Life and Health to finish what I
 ' have been much press'd by some of your
 ' selves to go on with;) which opportu-
 ' nity I could not hope to have nearer you,
 ' at least without being unreasonably burden-
 ' some to some, while I was designing Ser-
 ' vice as much as in me lay to all. It much
 ' satisfys me that I have a Record above, I
 ' am not designing for my self; that he who
 ' knoweth all things knows, I love not this
 ' present World, and I covet not an Abode
 ' in it, (nor have I when it was most friendly
 ' to me) upon any other account, than upon
 ' doing some Service to him, and the Souls
 ' of Men. It therefore has been my settled
 ' habitual Sense and Sentiment a long time,
 ' to value and desire (with submission to So-
 ' vereign good Pleasure) Peace and Quiet,
 ' with some tolerable Health, more than Life.
 ' Nor have I found any thing more destructive
 ' to my Health, than Confinement to a
 ' Room a few Days in the City Air, which
 ' was much better and more healthful to me
 ' formerly, than since the Anger and Jealousys
 ' of such as I never had a disposition to of-
 ' fend, have of later times occasion'd Persons
 ' of my Circumstances very seldom to walk
 ' the Streets.

‘ But my Hope is, God will in his good
‘ time incline the Hearts of Rulers more to
‘ favour such as cannot be satisfy’d with the
‘ publick Constitutions in the matters of God’s
‘ Worship, and that are innocent and peace-
‘ able in the Land; and that my Absence
‘ from you will be for no long time, it being
‘ my Design with dependance upon his graci-
‘ ous Providence and Pleasure, in whose
‘ Hands our Times are, if I hear of any
‘ Door open for Service with you, to spend
‘ the Health and Strength which God shall
‘ vouchsafe me, (and which I find thro his
‘ Mercy much improv’d since I left you) in
‘ his Work with and among you. In the
‘ mean time, I believe it will not be unaccept-
‘ able to you, that I offer you some of my
‘ Thoughts and Counsels, for your present
‘ help, such as are not new to me, nor as you
‘ will find to your selves, who are my Wit-
‘ nesses, that I have often inculcated such
‘ things to you; but they may be useful to
‘ stir you up, by putting you in remem-
‘ brance.

‘ I. I beseech you, more earnestly endea-
‘ vour to reduce the things you know (and
‘ have been by many Hands instructed in out
‘ of the Gospel of our Lord) to practice.
‘ Nothing can be more absurd than to con-
‘ tent our selves with only a notional Know-
‘ ledge of Practical Matters. We should
‘ think

‘ think so in other Cases. As if any Man
 ‘ should satisfy himself to know the use of
 ‘ Food, but famish himself by never eating
 ‘ any, when he hath it at hand : Or that he
 ‘ understands the Virtues of this or that Cor-
 ‘ dial, but languishes away to Death in the
 ‘ neglect of using it, when it might chear his
 ‘ Spirits, and save his Life. And the neg-
 ‘ lect of applying the great things of the
 ‘ Gospel to the proper Uses and Purposes of
 ‘ the Christian Life, is not more foolish, (on-
 ‘ ly as the Concernments they serve for are
 ‘ more important) but much more sinful and
 ‘ provoking to God. For we are to consider
 ‘ whence the Revelation comes. They are
 ‘ things which the Mouth of the Lord hath
 ‘ spoken ; utter’d by the Breath of the eter-
 ‘ nal God, as all Scriptures are said to be.
 ‘ God breathed, as that Expression may be
 ‘ literally rendred, 2 *Tim.* 3. 16. And how
 ‘ high a Contempt and Provocation is it of
 ‘ the great God, so totally to pervert and
 ‘ disappoint the whole design of that Revela-
 ‘ tion he hath made to us, to know the great
 ‘ things contain’d therein, only for know-
 ‘ ing sake, which he hath made known that
 ‘ we might live by them ! And oh what
 ‘ holy and pleasant Lives should we lead in
 ‘ this World, if the Temper and Complexion
 ‘ of our Souls did answer and correspond to
 ‘ the things we know ! The design of preach-
 ‘ ing has been greatly mistaken, when it has

' been thought, it must still acquaint them
 ' who live (and especially who have long
 ' liv'd) under it, with some new thing. Its
 ' much greater and more important Design
 ' is the impressing of known things (but too
 ' little consider'd) upon the Hearts of Hea-
 ' rers, that they may be deliver'd up into the
 ' mould and form of the Doctrine taught them,
 ' as *Rom. 6. 12*: And may so learn Christ as
 ' more and more to be renewed in the Spirit
 ' of their Minds, and put off the old Man
 ' and put on the New, *Eph. 4. 20*. The di-
 ' gesting our Food is what God now emi-
 ' nently calls for.

' II. More particularly labour to have your
 ' Apprehensions of the future State of the
 ' unseen World, and eternal Things, made
 ' more lively and efficacious daily, and that
 ' your Faith of them may be such as may
 ' truly admit to be called the very *Substance*
 ' and *Evidence* of those things. Shall that
 ' glorious everlasting State of things be al-
 ' ways as a dark Shadow with us, or as the
 ' Images we have of things in a Dream, in-
 ' effectual and vanishing, only because we
 ' have not seen with our Eyes, where God
 ' himself hath by his express Word made the
 ' representations of them to us, who never
 ' deceiv'd us, as our own Eyes and treache-
 ' rous Senses have done? Why do we not
 ' live as just now entering into the eternal
 ' State,

State, and as if we now beheld the glorious appearing of the great God our Saviour, when we are as much assur'd of them as if we beheld 'em? Why do we not oftner view the Representation of the Heavens vanishing, the Elements melting, the Earth flaming, the Angels every where dispers'd to gather the Elect, and them ascending, caught up to meet the Redeemer in the Air, ever to be with the Lord? What a trifle will the World be to us then!

III. Let the Doctrine of the Redeemer be more studied, and of his mighty Undertaking, with the immediate Design of it, not merely to satisfy for Sin by the Sacrifice he once for all made of himself, and so to procure our Pardon and Justification, without effecting any thing upon us, but to redeem us from all Iniquity, to purify us to himself, &c. and to form us after his own holy Likeness, and for such purposes to give his holy Spirit to us. Consider that our Redeemer is mighty, who hath such kind Designs upon us; and that as they shall not therefore finally fail of accomplishment, so will they be carried on without interruption, and with discernible Success, if we fail not as to what part in subordination to him belongs to us. How cheerfully should the redeemed of the Lord go on in their Course, under such Conduct!

‘ IV. Endeavour your Faith may be stron-
 ‘ ger, more efficacious and practical, con-
 ‘ cerning the Doctrine of Providence, and
 ‘ that the Workings and Events of it lie all
 ‘ under the management, and in the hand of
 ‘ the Redeemer, who is *Head over all things*
 ‘ *to the Church*: That therefore how grie-
 ‘ vous and bitter soever be his Peoples Lot
 ‘ and Portion at any time, there cannot but
 ‘ be kindness at the bottom; and that not
 ‘ only designing the best end, but taking the
 ‘ fittest way to it. For can Love it self be
 ‘ unkind, so as not to design well! or Wis-
 ‘ dom it self err so, as to take an improper
 ‘ Course in order thereto! Hereupon let not
 ‘ your Spirits be imbitter’d by the present
 ‘ Dispensation of Providence you are under,
 ‘ whereby you are in so great a part de-
 ‘ priv’d of the Helps and Means of your
 ‘ spiritual Advantage, which you like and
 ‘ relish most. And to this purpose consider,

‘ 1. Our wise and merciful Lord (tho per-
 ‘ haps such means might be in some measure
 ‘ useful to us) doth for the present judge,
 ‘ that his rebuking our undue use of them
 ‘ will be more useful; either overvaluing or
 ‘ undervaluing his Instruments, turning his
 ‘ Ordinances into mere Formalities, prefer-
 ‘ ring the Means of Grace (as they are fitly
 ‘ called) before the End, Grace it self.

‘ 2. Con-

2. Consider whether there be no disposition of Spirit, to treat others as you are treated. The inward Temper of our Minds and Spirits is so much the more narrowly to be inspected, by how much the less there is opportunity to discover it by outward Acts. As to such as differ from us about the Forms and Ceremonys that are now requir'd in the Worship of God, would we not be glad if they were as much restrain'd from using them in their Worship, as we from worshipping without them? And do not we think that that would as much grieve them, as our Restraint doth us? And why should we suppose that their Way should not as much suit their Spirits, and be as grateful to them, as ours to us? But we are in the right way, some will say, and they in the wrong: And why cannot any Man say the same thing with as much confidence as we? Or do we think there is no difference to be put between Controversys about matter of Circumstance, and about the essentials of Christianity? Undoubtedly till those that affect the name of the Reformed, and count it more their glory to be called *Protestants* than to be good Christians, have learnt to mingle more Justice with their Religion, and how better to apply that great Advice of our Lord's, *whatsoever you would that Men should do to you, do that to them, &c.* and till they become

‘ become studious of excelling other Men,
 ‘ in substantial Goodness, abstractedness from
 ‘ the World, Meekness, Humility, Sobriety,
 ‘ Self-denial and Charity, and to lay a greater
 ‘ stress hereon, than on being of one or other
 ‘ Denomination, God’s Controversy will not
 ‘ cease.

‘ I reckon it much to be consider’d, and
 ‘ I pray you consider it deeply, that after
 ‘ that great Precept, Eph. 4. 30. *Grieve not*
 ‘ *the Holy Spirit of God*, it immediately fol-
 ‘ lows, ver. 31. *Let all bitterness and anger*
 ‘ *and wrath and clamour and evil speaking*
 ‘ *be put away from you, with all malice :*
 ‘ plainly implying that the Spirit of God,
 ‘ that Spirit of all Love, Goodness, Sweet-
 ‘ ness, and Benignity, is griev’d by nothing
 ‘ more than by our Bitterness, Wrathfulness,
 ‘ &c. And it appears that the discernible re-
 ‘ straint and departure of that blessed Spirit
 ‘ from the Church of Christ in so great a
 ‘ measure, for many foregoing Generations,
 ‘ in comparison of the plentiful effusion of it
 ‘ in the first Age, hath insu’d upon the growth
 ‘ of that wrathful contentious Spirit which
 ‘ shew’d it self early in the *Gnostick*, but
 ‘ much more in the after *Arian* Persecution,
 ‘ which was not in some places less bloody
 ‘ than the Pagan Persecution had been before.
 ‘ Oh the gentleness, kindness, tenderness, and
 ‘ compassionateness, of the Evangelical truly
 ‘ Christian Spirit, as it most eminently ap-
 ‘ pear’d

‘ pear’d in our Lord Jesus Christ himself!
 ‘ And we are told, *if any Man have not the*
 ‘ *Spirit of Christ, he is none of his*, Rom.
 ‘ 8. 9. And how easy and pleasant is it to
 ‘ one’s own self, to be void of all wrathful-
 ‘ ness, and vindictive designs or inclinations
 ‘ towards any other Man? For my own part,
 ‘ I should not have that Peace and Conso-
 ‘ lation in a suffering Condition (as my being
 ‘ so many Years under restraint from that
 ‘ pleasant work of pleading with Sinners that
 ‘ they might be sav’d, is the greatest Suffering
 ‘ I was liable to in this World) as thro the
 ‘ Goodness of God I have found, and do
 ‘ find in being conscious to my self of no
 ‘ other than kind and benign thoughts to-
 ‘ wards them I have suffer’d by, and that my
 ‘ Heart tells me I desire not the least hurt
 ‘ to them that would do me the greatest;
 ‘ and that I feel within my self an unfeigned
 ‘ Love and high Estimation of divers, ac-
 ‘ counting them pious worthy Persons, and
 ‘ hoping to meet them in the all-reconciling
 ‘ World, that are yet (thro some mistake)
 ‘ too harsh towards us who dissent from them:
 ‘ And in things of this nature I pray that you
 ‘ and I may abound more and more.

‘ But again, as I would not have your
 ‘ Spirits imbitter’d, so I would not have
 ‘ your Spirits discourag’d, or sunk in dejec-
 ‘ tion. *The Lord will not cast off his Peo-*
 ‘ *ple, because it hath pleased him to make*
 ‘ *them*

‘ *them his People*, 1 Sam. 12. 22. I do not
‘ mean those of this or that Party, but who
‘ fear God and work Righteousness, be they
‘ of what Party soever. As I often think of
‘ that saying of an Antient, (*Clem. Alex.*)
‘ that he counted not that Philosophy, which
‘ was peculiar to this or that Sect, but what-
‘ soever of Truth was to be found in any of
‘ them ; so I say of Christianity, ’tis not that
‘ which is appropriate to this or that Party,
‘ but whatsoever of sincere Religion shall be
‘ found common to them all. Such will
‘ value and love his Favour and Presence,
‘ and shall have it ; and he will yet have
‘ such a People in the World, and I doubt
‘ not more numerous than ever. And as the
‘ bitterness of Christians one towards another
‘ chas’d away his Spirit, his Spirit shall van-
‘ quish and drive away all that bitterness,
‘ and consume our other dross. And as the
‘ Apostacy long ago foretold, and of so long
‘ continuance in the Christian Church, hath
‘ been begun and continu’d by constant War
‘ against the Spirit of Christ, the restitution
‘ and recovery of the Church, and the re-
‘ duction of Christianity to its antient Self,
‘ and primitive State, will be by the Vic-
‘ tory of the Spirit of Christ over that so con-
‘ trary Spirit. Then shall all the Enmity,
‘ Pride, Warthfulness and Cruelty, which
‘ have rent the Church of Christ and made
‘ it so little it self, be melted down ; and with
‘ all

‘ all their great Impuritys, besides Earthlinefs,
 ‘ Carnality, Love of this present World,
 ‘ and prevalence of fenfual Lufts, be purg’d
 ‘ more generally away, and his repairing
 ‘ Work be done in a way grievous to no one,
 ‘ whereby thofe that are moft abfolutely
 ‘ conquer’d will be moft highly pleas’d ; *not*
 ‘ *by Might or by Power, but by the Spirit*
 ‘ *of the Lord.*

‘ In the mean time let us draw nigh to
 ‘ God, and he will draw nigh to us. Let
 ‘ us more ftudy the exercifing our felves to
 ‘ Godlinefs, and take heed of turning the
 ‘ Religion of our Clofets into fpiritlefs un-
 ‘ comfortable Formalitys. *Their Hearts fhall*
 ‘ *live that feek God.*

‘ To that blessed, and faithful, and cove-
 ‘ nant-keeping God I commit you ; and to
 ‘ the Word of his Grace, which is able to
 ‘ build you up farther, and give you an in-
 ‘ heritance among them that are sanctify’d.

‘ And as I hope I fhall without ceafing re-
 ‘ member you in mine, fo I hope you will
 ‘ member too in your Prayers,

Your fincerely affectionate,

Tho too unprofitable

Servant in Chrift,

JOHN HOWE.

In

In the Course of his Travels with this Noble Lord, Mr. *Howe* had the satisfaction of seeing divers noted places, and conversing freely, not only with a number of learned *Papists*, but several *Protestant* Divines, both *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, and making a variety of Remarks for his own Use : And in the mean time, he was often not a little affected with the melancholy Tidings of the swift advances they were making in *England* towards Popery and Slavery, which he most heartily lamented, as well as the Hardships and Severitys which his Nonconforming Brethren met with in particular. And not having any encouragement from the posture of Affairs to return home, he at length in the Year 1686. settled in the pleasant City of *Utrecht*, which is the Capital of one of the seven *United Provinces*. He took a House, and resided there for some time, and had the Earl of *Sutherland* and his Countess, and some *English* Gentlemen, together with his two Nephews Mr. *George* and Mr. *John Hughes*, boarding with him. He took his turn of Preaching at the *English* Church in that City, with Mr. *Matthew Mead*, Mr. *Woodcock*, and Mr. *Cross*, who were there at the same time. They kept frequent Days of solemn Prayer together, on the account of the threatening state of Affairs in their own Country : And Mr. *Howe* generally preach'd on the
the

the Lord's-days in the Evening in his own Family. And there being several *English* Students then at that University, in order to their being fitted for future Usefulness, Mr. *Howe* was pleas'd to favour some of them with hearing their Orations and Disputations in private, and giving them his particular Instructions and Advice as they were prosecuting their Studys, which some have own'd to have been of no small Advantage to them. There were also several other worthy Persons of the *English* Nation at that time there, and in other parts of the *United Provinces*, that they might shelter themselves from Prosecutions in their own Country ; such as Sir *John Thompson*, (afterwards Lord *Haver-sham*) Sir *John Guise*, Sir *Patience Ward*, and Mr. *Papillon* ; and there was a good Harmony and Correspondence among them ; and Mr. *Howe* receiv'd much respect from them, as well as from the *Professors* in that Academy.

Among others by whom he was visited while he continu'd at *Utrecht*, one was Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, afterward Bishop of *Sarum*, who also preach'd in the *English* Church there, and very frankly declar'd for *Occasional Communion* with those of different Sentiments. He and Mr. *Howe* had a great deal of free Conversation, upon a variety of Subjects : And once discoursing of *Nonconformity*, the Doctor told him, he was apprehensive that

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it

it could not subsist long ; but that when Mr. *Baxter*, and Dr. *Bates*, and he, and a few more were once laid in their Graves, it would sink, and die, and come to nothing. Mr. *Howe* reply'd, that that must be left to God ; tho he at the same time intimated that he had different Apprehensions ; and did not reckon it to depend upon *Persons*, but upon *Principle*, which when taken up upon grounds approv'd upon search, could not be laid aside by Men of Conscience. The best way, he said, to put an end to *Nonconformity*, would be by giving due Liberty under the national Settlement, and laying aside needless Clogs, that would give occasion to endless Debates. Were this once done, there would be no room for a conscientious Nonconformity : But that without it, they could expect no other than that as some pass'd off the Stage, others would rise up and fill their places, who would act upon the same Principles as they had done before them ; tho he hop'd with a due Moderation and Temper towards those of different Sentiments. And the Event has shew'd, that he was herein in the right.

Several Years after this, I my self having occasion to wait upon Dr. *Burnet*, after he had been some time Bishop of *Sarum*, at his Palace in that City, where I was treated with great Frankness and Civility, his Lordship signify'd how well he was pleas'd with the Temper discover'd by the rising Gene-

ration of Ministers among the Dissenters; tho at the same time he intimated, that it was the common Apprehension of the great Men of their Church, that *Nonconformity* would have been *res unius ætatis* only, and not have been continu'd to another Generation, but have drawn to an end, when they that were ejected out of the publick Churches were once laid in their Graves. Upon this occasion, I declar'd to his Lordship, that which, having so fair an opportunity, I shall not now be shy of signifying more publickly; *viz.* that after the closest search into this matter of which I have been capable, I cannot perceive that while and as long as the Spirit of Imposition continues, any other can reasonably be expected than that there will be some who will think themselves oblig'd to stand up for a *generous Liberty*, the doing of which may be very consistent with all that Charity and brotherly Love, that is requir'd, either by Reason or Scripture. And this Liberty has, since the Death of the greatest part of the ejected Ministers, (tho with the full Approbation of such of them as were then living, and of Mr. *Howe* in particular) been defended by some among the Dissenters, upon a bottom so truly large and noble, that the sagacious Mr. *Lock* himself, whom I believe most People will own to have been a pretty good Judge, has more than once (as I have been credibly inform'd) freely own'd, that as long as they kept to that

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bottom,

bottom, they need not question being able to stand their Ground. And the number of their Friends and Abettors so increas'd, partly on the account of the largeness of the Foundations they went upon, and partly also upon their steady Zeal for the Government after the *Revolution*, while the Establish'd Church was miserably divided, about the Oaths, and a great many other things that were very distasteful to Men of Sense and Thought *; that in all probability their Interest must before this time have had a considerable accession of Strength, had it not been for their unaccountable Heats in the Reign of King *William*, and also in the Reign of his present Majesty King *George*; by which they have been sadly expos'd and weaken'd. But of all Persons, those that are zealous for the establish'd Church, have little reason upon this account to insult them, because of the shameful Differences they have had amongst themselves, which in a great measure continue to this Day. We may here say very safely, *Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.*

While Mr. *Howe* continu'd in *Holland*, the late King *William* (of glorious and immortal Memory) who was at that time Prince of

* The miserable Confusion the High-Church Party were in after the Revolution, about the Oaths, and about their Prayers, and about Communion, &c. is most admirably illustrated, by the Account given, in the Life of Mr. *John Kettlewell*, Part III.

Orange, did him the Honour to admit him several times into his Presence, and discours'd with him with great Freedom: And he ever after retain'd a particular Respect for him. I well remember also, that he himself once inform'd me, of some very private Conversation he had with that Prince, upon his sending for him, not long before his Death. Among other things, the King then ask'd him a great many Questions, about his old Master *Oliver*, as he call'd him, and seem'd not a little pleas'd with the Answers that were return'd to some of his Questions.

In 1687, King *James* publish'd his *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, upon which the Dissenters were freed from their Fetters and Shackles, and were allow'd the freedom of worshipping God in publick, in their own way, without any Molestation. Mr. *Howe's* Flock in *London*, earnestly press'd for his Return to them according to his Promise, and he readily comply'd. But before he left *Holland*, he thought it proper to wait on the Prince of *Orange*, who in his usual way receiv'd him very graciously. He signify'd to his Royal Highness, that he was returning for *England*, at the earnest solicitation of his Friends there, who were impatient of his Absence, now that he was in a capacity of publick Service among them. The Prince wish'd him a good Voyage, and advis'd him,

tho he and his Brethren made use of the Liberty granted by King *James*, yet to be very cautious in Addressing ; and not to be prevail'd with upon any Terms, to fall in with the Measures of the Court, as to taking off the Penal Laws and Test, which was the thing intended, but which would have fatal Consequences ; and to use his utmost influence in order to the restraining others, which he readily promis'd ; and he was as good as his word.

Upon his Return into his own Country, which was in *May* this Year, he was gladly receiv'd by his old Friends and Brethren, and with Joy (tho not without an aking Heart, considering the apparent Danger of the Publick) return'd to the free exercise of his Ministry. He was thankful for a little breathing time afforded, and endeavour'd to improve it to the best Purposes, and to preserve himself and others from the Snares that were laid for them.

The Author of the Life of a celebrated Nonjuror, casts some most invidious Reflections upon the Body of the Dissenters, and their Conduct in this Reign. He insinuates, that *when that inconsistent People had long cry'd out against the Members of the Church of England as inclinable to Popery, they themselves were the first to join hands with this Popery, against the Church of England, and to favour the Designs thereof, which they had* but

but just before so loudly exclaim'd against *. And it must be own'd, that they would have been an *inconsistent People* indeed, had the Body of them acted in that manner: But the best of it is, that this is a Suggestion that is as void of Truth as it is of Charity. If some among the Dissenters did charge those of the Church of *England*, with favouring Popery in King *Charles's* Reign, it was because of their appearing so zealous for his Brother, who was well known to be a Papist, and from whom no other could be expected than that he would if he came to the Crown, do his utmost to bring in Popery, in opposition to all the Laws and Securitys against it; and they evidently hazarded the Loss of our Liberty and Religion too, by making the dangerous Experiment: and they would boldly venture upon this, tho they were freely warn'd beforehand, what the Consequence would be. But as for *joining Hands with this Popery*, none were more free from that than the Dissenters. Bishop *Burnet* owns, that how much soever a few weak Persons might be intoxicated by the Caresses of the Court, and elevated by an appearance of favour shewn them, yet the *wiser Men among them saw thro all this, and perceiv'd the Design of the Papists was now to set on the Dissenters against the Church, as much as they had formerly set*

* Life of Mr. Kettlewel in 8vo. pag. 141.

the Church against them: And therefore tho they return'd to their Conventicles (as he is pleas'd to call 'em, tho not a jot the better thought of upon that Account by his warmer Brethren) yet they had a just jealousy of the ill Designs that lay hid under all this sudden and unexpected shew of Grace and Kindness.*

In Confirmation of this, I can upon good Grounds assure the Reader, that whereas there were about this time great Endeavours us'd to draw in the dissenting Ministers to approve the Measures of the Court, and frequent Meetings among them to consider of their own Behaviour, at which times Mr. *Howe* was seldom absent, he always declar'd against approving *the Dispensing Power*, or any thing that could give the Papists any Assistance in the carrying on their Designs; and he therein had the full Concurrence of the generality of his Brethren. I have had a particular Account of one meeting at Mr. *Howe's* own House, in order to consider of the adviseableness of drawing up a Writing to signify their Concurrence with the King, as to the Ends of his Declaration; at which time there were two Persons present that came from Court, and intimated that his Majesty waited in his Closet, and would not stir from thence, till

* Bishop *Burnet's* History of his own Times, Vol. i. pag. 673.

an Account was brought him of their Proceedings. I have heard that one in the Company did intimate that he thought it but reasonable they should comply with his Majesty's desire. To which another immediately reply'd, that he was fully convinc'd that the Sufferings they had met with, had been all along on the account of their firm adherence to the Civil Interest of the Nation, in opposition to Tory Schemes, rather than on the account of their religious Principles: And therefore if the King expected they should join in approving such a Conduct as would give the Papists their Liberty, and establish a *Dispensing Power*, he had rather he should take their Liberty again. Mr. *Howe* in summing up the matter signify'd they were generally of that Brother's Sentiments, and could by no means encourage the *Dispensing Power*; and it was left to those who came down to them from Court, to report that as their common Sense to those that sent them. Several of their Ministers were, it must be confess'd, afterwards privately closetted by King *James*; and I won't say but some few of them, who had personal and particular Favours shewn them, might be drawn too far into the Snare, and use their Interest in order to the taking off all Penal Laws and Tests: But they were but very few, and as soon as it was known, their Interest and Significance was lessened; the far greater number stood it out, and Mr.

Howe particularly, when the King discours'd with him alone, told his Majesty that he was a Minister of the Gospel, and it was his Province to preach, and endeavour to do good to the Souls of Men ; but that as for meddling with State Affairs, he was as little inclin'd as he was call'd to it, and begg'd to be excus'd.

The same Author also observes, that upon King James's famous Declaration to all his loving Subjects for Liberty, there follow'd a vast Croud of Congratulatory Addresses and Acknowledgments, from all sorts of Dissenters, complimenting the King in the highest manner, and protesting what mighty Returns of Loyalty they would make his Majesty, for such his Favour and Indulgence to them †. And he adds, only the Members of the Church of England generally were hereat very uneasy. But Bishop Burnet, who I am apt to think will be most likely to be regarded in the Case, gives a quite different representation of the matter. He speaking of the Dissenters, says, *it was visible to all Men, that the courting them at this time was not from any kindness, or good opinion that the King had of them. They needed not to be told, that all the Favour expected from Popery was once to bring it in, under the colour of a general Toleration, till it should be strong enough to set on a general Persecution : And*

† Life of Mr. John Kettlewell, pag. 147.

therefore as they could not engage themselves to support such an arbitrary Prerogative as was now made use of, so neither could they go into any Engagements for Popery. They did believe that the Indignation against the Church Party, and the Kindness to them, were things too unnatural to last long. So the more considerable among them, resolv'd not to stand at too great a distance from the Court, nor to provoke the King so far, as to give him Cause to think they were irreconcilable to him, lest they should provoke him to make up matters on any Terms with the Church Party. On the other hand, they resolv'd not to provoke the Church Party, or by any ill Behaviour of theirs drive them into a Reconciliation with the Court*.

As to the Addresses of the Dissenters upon this occasion, tho some of them ran high, yet the Church Party had set them the Pattern, and therefore it was the less decent in them to make Complaints of them. Those of the Establishment, had in a most luxuriant manner thank'd King Charles for dissolving one of the best of Parliaments, and as the Earl of Warrington declar'd in his Speech, were mighty forward in the surrender of Charters; and in their fulsome Addresses and Abhorrences, made no other claim to

* Bp. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. 1. pag. 702.

their Libertys and Civil Rights than as Concessions from the Crown: telling the King, every one of his Commands was stamp'd with God's Authority, &c. And the University of Oxford in particular, had in one of their publick Addresses promis'd King James, that they would obey him without Limitations or Restrictions†: which was not to be equal'd by any thing that came even from the most uncautious or the most transported Dissenters. And if they did not now preach so much against Popery as the Churchmen, they may the more easily be excus'd, because their People did not so much need it. They had little reason to fear that any of their Persuasion would be perverted, for that the adhering to their distinguishing Principle of the Sufficiency of Scripture, would not fail of securing them; while many of the Bishops and Doctors of the Church of England, had instill'd into their Followers such odd Notions, about the Power of the Church in matters of Faith, the Apostolical Succession and Power of Bishops, their Right to judge of Fitness and Decency in the Worship of God, to which all others must submit, and the binding Force of old Canons and Councils, that it highly concern'd 'em to do all that they were able to deliver them from the Consequences which they might easily foresee the Romanists would

† Id. pag. 620.

put them upon drawing from such Principles. And the truth of it is, tho I han't the least word to say, to the lessening that glorious Defence of the Protestant Cause that was at this time made by the Writings of the Divines of the Church Party, yet the Dissenters may be very well allow'd to have taken no small Pleasure, in seeing those Gentlemen baffle the Papists, upon such Principles as they might easily discern would help to set the Authors themselves more upright than some of them had been before: And in such a Case to have offer'd to take the Work out of their Hands, had been over-officious, and an indecent intermeddling.

However, the King went on with his Design, and nothing would satisfy him, but his *Declaration for Liberty* must be read in all the Churches. The Bishops meeting together for Consultation, were convinc'd that their concurring in this Step, and sending the Declaration to all their Clergy, and requiring their reading it publickly to the People, would be an owning *the Dispensing Power*: And therefore they drew up a Petition to his Majesty, in which they desir'd to be excus'd. This Petition was call'd a Libel, and they were sent to the *Tower* for presenting it.

Mr. *Howe* being at this time invited to Dinner by Dr. *Sherlock*, the Master of the Temple, accepted the Invitation, and was very civilly treated; and there were two or
three

three other Clergymen at the Table. After Dinner, the Discourse ran mostly upon the Danger the Church was at that time in, of being intirely ruin'd. The Doctor, freely, but pretty abruptly, ask'd Mr. *Howe*, what he thought the Dissenters would do, supposing the Preferments of the Church should be made vacant, and an offer should be made of filling them up out of their Number? Mr. *Howe* was so surpriz'd with such a Question as this, which he little expected, that he was at first at a loss for an Answer. Whereupon the Doctor drew out his dark and melancholy Scheme very distinctly, with all imaginable marks of Concern. He told him he thought that the Bishops would be as certainly cast, as they were at that time imprison'd in the *Tower*: That the rest of the Clergy, who had so generally refus'd reading the King's *Declaration*, would follow after them: That it was not a thing to be suppos'd that their Places should be suffer'd to continue vacant: And that no way could be thought of for the filling them up again, but from among the Dissenters: And who knows, said he, but Mr. *Howe* may be offer'd to be *Master of the Temple*? And therefore he intimated he was very desirous to know how they would be inclin'd to behave, upon such a Supposition; of which he believ'd him to be as capable of giving an account as any Man whatsoever. Mr. *Howe* told the Doctor, that these
were

were things that were altogether uncertain: But that if it should so happen that matters should fall out according to his Fears, he could not pretend to answer for the Conduct of the Dissenters, among whom there were several Partys, that acted upon different Principles; and that therefore it was most reasonable to suppose, their Conduct might be different. He signify'd to him, that he could answer for none but himself: And that he thought for his part, if things should ever come to the pass he mention'd, he should not baulk an opportunity of more publick Service, (which he was not aware he had done any thing to forfeit) provided it was offer'd him upon such Terms as he had no just reason to except against: But then he added, that as for the Emolument thence accruing, he should not be for meddling with that, any otherwise than as an hand to convey it to the Legal Proprietor. Whereupon the Doctor rose up from his Seat, and embrac'd him, and said that he had always taken him for that ingenuous honest Man that he now found him to be, and seem'd not a little transported with Joy. Mr. *Howe* afterwards telling this Passage to a certain great Man in the Church, to whom the Doctor was well known, and signifying how much he was on a sudden to seek for an Answer to a Question he so little expected, which was bottom'd upon a Supposition, that had not so much as once enter'd
into

into his thoughts before, he immediately made him this Reply: Sir, you say you had not once thought of the Case, or so much as suppos'd any thing like it; but you must give me leave to tell you, if you had study'd the Case seven Years together, you could not have said any thing that had been more to the purpose, or more to the Doctor's Satisfaction.

When these Fears were all blown over, and an happy Revolution brought about in 1688, and the Prince of *Orange* was come to *St. James's* Palace, the Dissenting Ministers waited on him in a body, and were introduc'd by the Lords *Devonshire*, *Wharton*, and *Wiltshire*; at which time, Mr. *Howe* in the name of the rest, made an handsome Speech, signifying

‘ That they profess'd their grateful sense
 ‘ of his Highnesses hazardous and heroical
 ‘ Expedition, which the Favour of Heaven
 ‘ had made so surprizingly prosperous.

‘ That they esteem'd it a common Felicity,
 ‘ that the worthy Patriots of the Nobility
 ‘ and Gentry of this Kingdom, had unani-
 ‘ mously concurr'd unto his Highnesses De-
 ‘ sign, by whose most prudent Advice, the
 ‘ Administration of publick Affairs was de-
 ‘ volv'd in this difficult Conjunction, into
 ‘ Hands which the Nation and the World
 ‘ knew to be apt for the greatest Undertak-
 ‘ ings,

ings, and so suitable to the present Exigence
of our Case.

That they promis'd the utmost Endeavours, which in their Stations they were capable of affording, for promoting the excellent and most desirable Ends for which his Highness had declared.

That they added their continual and fervent Prayers to the Almighty, for the Preservation of his Highnesses Person, and the Success of his future Endeavours, for the Defence and Propagation of the Protestant Interest throughout the Christian World.

That they should all most willingly have chosen that for the season of paying this Duty to his Highness, when the Lord Bishop and the Clergy of *London* attended his Highness for the same purpose, (which some of them did, and which his Lordship was pleas'd condescendingly to make mention of to his Highness) had their notice of that intended Application been so early, as to make their more general Attendance possible to them at that time.

And that therefore, tho they did now appear in a distinct Company, they did it not on a distinct account, but on that only which was common to them and to all Protestants.

That there were some of eminent Note, whom Age, or present Infirmities *hindered

* This referr'd to Mr. Baxter and Dr. Bates.

from

‘ from coming with them, yet they con-
 ‘ curr’d in the same grateful sense of our com-
 ‘ mon Deliverance.

The Prince in Answer, assur’d them,
 “ That he came on purpose to defend the
 “ Protestant Religion, and that it was his
 “ own Religion, in which he was born and
 “ bred; the Religion of his Country, and of
 “ his Ancestors: And that he was resolv’d
 “ by the Grace of God, always to adhere to
 “ it, and to do his utmost Endeavours for
 “ the Defence of it, and the promoting a firm
 “ Union among Protestants.

In this Year 1688, Mr. *Howe* publish’d a few practical Discourses: As, a Sermon on *Job. V. 42.* directing what we are to do after strict Enquiry, whether or no we truly love God: And two Sermons preach’d at *Thur- low* in *Suffolk*, on those words, *Rom. VI. 13. Yield yourselves to God.*

In 1689, he wrote a short Letter about the Case of the *French Protestants*, which I shall here add, leaving it to the Reader to guess (and I cannot my self do more) to whom it was address’d. ’Twas in these Words:

S I R,

‘ BUT that I am learning as much as I
 ‘ B can to count nothing strange among
 ‘ the

the Occurrences of the present Time, I should be greatly surpriz'd to find, that divers *French* Protestant Ministers, fled hither for their Consciences and Religion, who have Latitude enough to conform to the Rites of the *Church of England*, do accuse others of their Brethren, who are fled hither on the same account, but have not that Latitude, as *Schismatics*, only for practising according to the Principles and Usages of their own Church, which at home were common to them both; and as *Schismatics* judge them unworthy of any relief here. Their common Enemy never yet past so severe a Judgment on any of them, that they should be famish'd. This is put into the Hands of the Appellants from this Sentence, unto your more equal Judgment. And it needs do no more than thus briefly to represent their Case, and me,

Most Honoured SIR,

Your most obliged,

Walbrook, and most humble Servant,
April 5. 89.

JOHN HOWE.

This Year there were many and warm Debates in the two Houses of Lords and Commons, about a *Comprehension*, and an *Indulgence*; for Bills were brought in for both, and both were canvass'd. Some were so narrow-spirited and so ungenerous, as forgetting their Promises and repeated Declarations in the time of their Distress, from which they were just so wonderfully deliver'd, to be for still keeping the *Dissenters* under a Brand. Mr. *Howe* therefore at this time fairly represented their Case, and strenuously argued upon it, in a single Sheet of Paper, which was printed, and is very fit to be transmitted to Posterity.

The Case of the Protestant Dissenters, represented and argued.

‘ **T**HEY are under one common Obligation with the rest of Mankind, by the Universal Law of Nature, to worship God in Assemblies.

‘ Men of all sorts of Religions, that have ever obtain'd in the World, *Jews, Pagans, Mahometans, Christians*, have in their Practice acknowledg'd this Obligation. Nor can it be understood, how such a Practice should be so universal, otherwise than from the dictate and impression of the universal Law.

‘ Whereas

Whereas the Religion profess'd in *England*, is that of reform'd Christianity, some things are annexed to the allowed publick Worship, which are acknowledg'd to be no parts thereof, nor in themselves necessary; but which the *Dissenters* judge to be in some part sinful.

They cannot therefore with good Conscience towards God, attend wholly and solely upon the publick Worship which the Laws do appoint.

The same Laws do strictly forbid their assembling to worship God otherwise.

Which is in effect the same thing, as if they who made, or shall continue such Laws, should plainly say, if you will not consent with us in our superadded Rites and Modes against your Consciences, you shall not worship God; or if you will not accept of our Additions to the Christian Religion, you shall not be Christians: and manifestly tends to reduce to Paganism, a great part of a Christian Nation.

They have been wont therefore to meet however in distinct Assemblies, and to worship God in a way which their Consciences could approve; and have many Years continu'd so to do, otherwise than as they have been hindred by Violence.

It is therefore upon the whole fit to enquire,

‘ *Qu. I.* Whether they are to be blam’d
‘ for their holding distinct Meetings for the
‘ Worship of God?

‘ For Answer to this, it cannot be ex-
‘ pected that all the Controversies should
‘ be here determin’d, which have been agi-
‘ tated about the Lawfulness of each of those
‘ things which have been added to the Chris-
‘ tian Religion and Worship, by the present
‘ Constitution of the *Church of England*.

‘ But supposing they were none of them
‘ simply unlawful, while yet the misinform’d
‘ Minds of the *Dissenters* could not judge
‘ them lawful, tho they have made it much
‘ their business to enquire and search; being
‘ urg’d also by severe Sufferings, which thro
‘ a long tract of time they have undergone,
‘ not to refuse any means that might tend to
‘ their Satisfaction; they could have no-
‘ thing else left them to do, than to meet
‘ and worship distinctly as they have.

‘ For they could not but esteem the Ob-
‘ ligation of the universal, natural, divine
‘ Law, by which they were bound solemnly
‘ to worship God, less questionable than
‘ that of a Law, which was only positive,
‘ topical and humane, requiring such and
‘ such additaments to their worship, and pro-
‘ hibiting their worship without them.

‘ The Church of *England* (as that part af-
‘ fects

‘ sects to be called) distinguish’d from the rest
 ‘ by those Additionals to Christian Religion,
 ‘ (pretended to be indifferent, and so confess’d
 ‘ unnecessary) hath not only sought to ingross
 ‘ to itself the Ordinances of Divine Worship,
 ‘ but all Civil Power. So that the Privileges
 ‘ that belong either to Christian or Humane
 ‘ Society are inclosed, and made peculiar to
 ‘ such as are distinguish’d by things that in
 ‘ themselves can signify nothing to the making
 ‘ of Persons either better Christians, or better
 ‘ Men.

‘ *Qu. 2.* Whether the Laws enjoining such
 ‘ Additions to our Religion, as the exclusive
 ‘ terms of Christian Worship and Communion,
 ‘ ought to have been made, when it is
 ‘ acknowledg’d on all hands, the things to be
 ‘ added were before not necessary ; and when
 ‘ it is known a great number judge them sinful,
 ‘ and must thereby be restrain’d from worship-
 ‘ ping the true and living God ?

‘ *Ans.* The Question to any of common
 ‘ Sense, answers it self. For it is not put
 ‘ concerning such as dissent from any part of
 ‘ the Substance of Worship which God hath
 ‘ commanded, but concerning such Additions
 ‘ as he never commanded. And there are
 ‘ sufficient Tests to distinguish such *Dissen-*
 ‘ *ters*, from those that deny any substantial
 ‘ part of Religion, or assert any thing contra-

‘ ry thereto. Wherefore to forbid such to
‘ worship that God that made them, because
‘ they can’t receive your devised Additions,
‘ is to exclude that which is necessary, for
‘ the mere want of that which is unnecessary.

‘ And where is that Man that will adven-
‘ ture to stand forth, and avow the hindring
‘ of such Persons from paying their Homage
‘ to the God that made them, if we thus ex-
‘ postulate the matter on God’s behalf and
‘ their own? Will you cut off from God his
‘ right in the Creatures he hath made? Will
‘ you cut off from them the means of their
‘ Salvation upon these Terms? What reply
‘ can the matter admit?

‘ ’Tis commonly alledg’d that great defe-
‘ rence is to be paid to the Laws, and that
‘ we ought to have forbore our Assemblies,
‘ till the publick Authority recall’d the Laws
‘ against them: And we will say the same
‘ thing, when it is well prov’d, that they who
‘ made such Laws, made the World too.

‘ And by whose Authority were such Laws
‘ made? Is there any that is not from God?
‘ and hath God given any Man Authority
‘ to make Laws against himself, and to de-
‘ prive him of his just Rights from his own
‘ Creatures?

‘ Nor if the matter be well search’d into,
‘ could there be so much as a Pretence of
‘ Authority derived for such purposes from
‘ the People, whom every one now ac-
‘ know.

‘ knows the first receptacle of derived
 ‘ governing Power. God can, ’tis true, lay
 ‘ indisputable Obligations by his known Laws,
 ‘ upon every Conscience of Man about Re-
 ‘ ligion, or any thing else. And such as re-
 ‘ present any People, can according to the
 ‘ Constitution of the Government, make Laws
 ‘ for them, about the things they entrust
 ‘ them with : But if the People of *England*
 ‘ be ask’d Man by Man, will they say they
 ‘ did entrust to their Representatives, their
 ‘ Religion, and their Consciences, to do with
 ‘ them what they please ? When it is your
 ‘ own turn to be represented by others, is
 ‘ this part of the Trust you commit ? What
 ‘ Dr. *Sherlock* * worthily says concerning a
 ‘ Bishop, he might (and particularly after,
 ‘ doth) say concerning every other Man, *he*
 ‘ *can be no more represented in a Council,*
 ‘ *than at the day of Judgment : Every Man’s*
 ‘ *Soul and Conscience must be in his own keep-*
 ‘ *ing ; and can be represented by no Man.*

‘ It ought to be consider’d that Christianity,
 ‘ wherein it superadds to the Law of Nature,
 ‘ is all matter of Revelation. And ’tis well
 ‘ known that even among *Pagans* in the set-
 ‘ tling Rites and Institutes of Religion †,

* Vindication of some Protestant Principles, &c. p. 52.

† As by *Numa* from his *Egeria*. And their Priests, to whom the Regulation of such Matters was left, were generally believed to be inspir’d.

‘ Revelation was pretended at least, upon an
‘ imply’d Principle, that in such matters hu-
‘ mane Power could not oblige the Peoples
‘ Consciences.

‘ We must be excus’d therefore, if we have
‘ in our Practice express’d less Reverence for
‘ Laws made by no Authority receiv’d ei-
‘ ther from God or Man.

‘ We are therefore injuriously reflected on,
‘ when it is imputed to us, that we have by
‘ the Use of our Liberty, acknowledg’d an
‘ illegal dispensing Power. We have done no
‘ other thing herein, than we did when no
‘ Dispensation was given or pretended, in
‘ Conscience of Duty to him that gave us
‘ our Breath: Nor did therefore practise o-
‘ therwise, because we thought those Laws
‘ dispens’d with, but because we thought ’em
‘ not Laws. Whereupon little need remains
‘ of enquiring farther,

‘ *Qu. 3.* Whether such Laws should be
‘ continu’d? Against which, besides what
‘ may be collected from that which hath been
‘ said, it is to be consider’d, that what is
‘ most principally grievous to us, was enacted
‘ by that Parliament, that as we have too
‘ much reason to believe, suffer’d it self to be
‘ dealt with, to enslave the Nation, in other
‘ respects as well as this; and which (to his
‘ immortal Honour) the noble Earl of *Dan-*
‘ *by*

by procur'd to be dissolv'd, as the first step towards our National Deliverance.

And let the Tenour be consider'd of that horrid Law, by which our *Magna Charta* was torn in pieces; the worst and most infamous of Mankind, at our own Expence, hir'd to accuse us; multitudes of Perjuries committed, Convictions made without a Jury, and without any hearing of the Persons accused; Penalties inflicted, Goods rifled, Estates seiz'd and embezled, Houses broken up, Families disturb'd, often at unseasonable Hours of the Night, without any Cause, or shadow of a Cause, if only a malicious Villain would pretend to suspect a meeting there! No Law in any other Case like this! As if to worship God without those Additions, which were confess'd unnecessary, were a greater Crime than Theft, Felony, Murder, or Treason! Is it for our Reputation to Posterity, that the Memory of such a Law should be continu'd?

And are we not yet awaken'd, and our Eyes open'd enough to see, that the making and execution of the Laws, by which we have suffer'd so deeply for many by-past Years, was only, that Protestants might destroy Protestants, and the easier work be made for the Introduction of Popery, that was to destroy the Residue?

Nor can any Malice deny, or ignorance of observing *English* Men over-look, this plain

plain matter of Fact: After the Dissolu-
tion of that before-mention'd Parliament,
Dissenters were much caress'd, and endea-
vour'd to be drawn into a subserviency to
the Court Designs, especially in the Elec-
tion of after Parliaments. Notwithstanding
which, they every where so intirely and
unanimously fell in with the sober part of
the Nation, in the choice of such Persons
for the three Parliaments that next succeed-
ed (two held at *Westminster*, and that at
Oxford,) as it was known would, and who
did most generously assert the Liberties of
the Nation, and the Protestant Religion.
Which alone (and not our mere Dissent from
the Church of England, in matters of Re-
ligion, wherein *Charles II.* was sufficiently
known to be a Prince of great indifferency)
drew upon us, soon after the Dissolution of
the last of those Parliaments, that dreadful
Storm of Persecution, that destroy'd not a
small number of Lives in Goals, and ruin'd
multitudes of Families.

Let *English* Freemen remember, what
they cannot but know, that it was for our
firm Adherence to the Civil Interests of the
Nation, (not for our different Modes of Re-
ligion from the Legal way, tho the Laws
gave that Advantage against us, which they
did not against others) that we endur'd the
Calamities of so many Years.

When

When by the late King some Relaxation was given us, what Arts and Insinuations have been us'd with us, to draw us into a concurrence to Designs tending to the prejudice of the Nation? And with how little effect upon the generality of us, it must be great ignorance not to know, and great injustice to deny.

But he that knoweth all things, knoweth that tho in such Circumstances, there was no opportunity for our receiving publick and authorized Promises, when we were all under the eye of watchful Jealousy; yet as great Assurances as were possible, were given us by some that we hope will now remember it, of a future establish'd security from our former Pressures. We were told over and over, when the excellent *Heer Fagel's* Letter came to be privately communicated from hand to hand, how easily better things would be had for us, than *that* encourag'd *Papists* to expect, if ever that happy change should be brought about, which none have now beheld with greater Joy than we.

We are loth to injure those who have made us hope for better, by admitting a suspicion that we shall now be disappointed and deceiv'd, (as we have formerly been, and we know by whom) or that we shall suffer from them a *Religious Slavery*, for whose sakes we have suffer'd so grievous things,

‘ things, rather than do the least thing that
‘ might tend to the bringing upon them a
‘ *Civil Slavery*.

‘ We cannot but expect from *Englishmen*
‘ that they be just and true. We hope not
‘ to be the only Instances whereby the *An-*
‘ *glica Fides*, and the *Punica* shall be thought
‘ all one.

‘ But if we, who have constantly desir’d,
‘ and as we have had opportunity, endea-
‘ your’d the saving of the Nation, must how-
‘ ever be ruin’d, not to greaten (one Hair)
‘ the Wealth and Dignity of it, but only to
‘ gratify the humour of them who would yet
‘ destroy it; we who are competently inur’d
‘ to Sufferings, shall thro God’s Mercy be
‘ again enabled to endure: But he that sits in
‘ the Heavens, will in his own time judge
‘ our Cause, and we will wait his pleasure;
‘ and we hope suffer all that can be inflicted,
‘ rather than betray the Cause of Reformed
‘ Christianity in the World.

‘ But our Affairs are in the hands of Men
‘ of Worth and Honour, who apprehend how
‘ little grateful a Name they should leave to
‘ Posterity, or obtain now with good Men
‘ of any Persuasion, if under a pretence of
‘ kindness to us, they should now repeat the
‘ Arts of ill Men, in an ill time. Great
‘ Minds will think it beneath them to sport
‘ themselves with their own Cunning, in de-
‘ ceiving other Men; which were really in
‘ the

‘ the present case too thin not to be seen thro,
 ‘ and may be the easy attainment of any Man,
 ‘ that hath enough of opportunity, and integrity little enough for such Purposes. And
 ‘ ’tis as much too gross to endeavour to abuse
 ‘ the Authority of a Nation, by going about
 ‘ to make that stoop to so mean a thing, as
 ‘ to make a shew of intending what they resolve to their utmost shall never be.

‘ But some may think, by Concessions to
 ‘ us, *the Church of England* will be ruin’d,
 ‘ and a great Advantage given to the bringing in of *Popery*.

‘ To which we say, the generality of the
 ‘ Dissenters differ from *the Church of England*, in no substantials of Doctrine and
 ‘ Worship, no nor of Government, provided
 ‘ it be so manag’d, as to attain its true acknowledged End: The favouring of us
 ‘ therefore will as much ruin the Church, as
 ‘ its Inlargement and additional Strength will signify to its ruin.

‘ And doth not the World know, that
 ‘ wherein we differ from them, we differ from
 ‘ the *Papists* too? And that for the most
 ‘ part, wherein they differ from us, they seem
 ‘ to agree with them?

‘ We acknowledge their strong, brave, and
 ‘ prosperous opposition to *Popery*: But they
 ‘ have oppos’d it by the things wherein they
 ‘ agree with us. Their Differences from us,
 ‘ are no more a Fence against *Popery*, than
 ‘ an

‘ an inclosure of Straw is against a Flame of
‘ Fire.

‘ But ’tis wont to be said, we agree not
‘ among our selves, and know not what we
‘ would have.

‘ And do all that go under the Name of *the*
‘ *Church of England* agree among themselves?

‘ We can shew more considerable Disagree-
‘ ments among them, than any can between
‘ the most of us, and a considerable part of
‘ them. They all agree, ’tis true, in Con-
‘ formity: And we all agree in Noncon-
‘ formity. And is not this merely acciden-
‘ tal to Christianity and Protestantism? And
‘ herein is it not well known that the far
‘ greater part of Reformed Christendom do
‘ more agree with us?

‘ An arbitrary Line of Uniformity in some
‘ little Accidents, severs a small part of the
‘ Christian World from all the rest. How
‘ unreasonably is it expected that therefore
‘ all the rest must in every thing else agree
‘ among themselves? Suppose any imaginary
‘ Line to cut off a little Segment from any
‘ part of the Terrestrial Globe; ’tis as justly
‘ expected that all the rest should be of one
‘ mind. If one part of *England* be Taylors,
‘ they might as well expect that all the People
‘ besides should agree to be of one Profession.

‘ Perhaps some imagine it dishonourable
‘ to such as have gone before ’em in the same
‘ Ecclesiastical Stations and Dignities, if now

‘ any

any thing should be alter'd, which their Judgment did before approve and think fit.

But we hope that Temptation will not prove invincible, viz. of so excessive a Modesty as to be afraid of seeming wiser, or better natur'd, or of a more Christian Temper than their Predecessors.

But the most of us do agree not only with one another, but in the great things above-mention'd, with *the Church of England too*: And in short, that the Reproach may cease for ever with those that count it one, they will find with us, when they please to try, a very extensive agreement on the Terms of King *Charles II's* Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs, in 1660.

Qu. 4. Whether it be reasonable to exclude all that in every thing conform not to *the Church of England*, from any part or share of the Civil Power?

Answer. The Difference or Nonconformity of many is so minute, that it would be as reasonable to exclude all whose Hair is not of this or that Colour. And what if we should make a Distinction, by the decision this way or that of any other disputed Question, that may be of as small concernment to Religion? Suppose it be that of *eating Blood*, for the Decision whereof one way, there is more pretence from

‘ from God’s word, than for any point of
‘ the disputed Conformity : Would it not
‘ be a wise Constitution, that *whosoever*
‘ *thinks it lawful to eat Black-pudding, shall*
‘ *be capable of no Office, &c.*

‘ But we tremble to think of the *Exclu-*
‘ *sive Sacramental Test*, brought down as
‘ low as to the Keeper of an Alehouse. Are
‘ all fit to approach the sacred Table, whom
‘ the fear of Ruin, or hope of Gain may
‘ bring thither? We cannot but often re-
‘ member with Horror, what happen’d three
‘ or four Years ago : A Man that led an ill
‘ Life, but frequented the Church, was ob-
‘ serv’d not to come to the Sacrament, and
‘ press’d by the Officers to come; he yet
‘ declin’d, knowing himself unfit : At length
‘ being threaten’d and terrify’d, he came ;
‘ but said to some present at the time of the
‘ solemn Action, that he came only to avoid
‘ being undone, and took them to witness
‘ that what he there receiv’d, he took only
‘ as common Bread and Wine, not daring to
‘ receive them as the Body and Blood of
‘ Christ. ’Tis amazing, that among Chris-
‘ tians, so venerable an Institution should be
‘ prostituted to the serving of so mean Pur-
‘ poses, and so foreign to its true End ! And
‘ that doing it after the manner of *the Church*
‘ *of England* must be the Qualification ! As
‘ if *England* were another Christendom ; or
‘ it were a greater thing to conform in every
‘ Punc-

‘ Punctilio to the Rules of this Church, than
 ‘ of Christ himself !

‘ But we would fain know whose is that
 ‘ Holy Table ? Is it the Table of this or that
 ‘ Party, or the Lord’s Table ? If the Lord’s,
 ‘ are not Persons to be admitted or excluded
 ‘ upon his Terms ? Never can there be
 ‘ Union or Peace in the Christian World till
 ‘ we take down our arbitrary Inclosures, and
 ‘ content our selves with those which our
 ‘ common Lord hath set. If he falls under a
 ‘ Curse that alters a Man’s Landmark, to al-
 ‘ ter God’s is not likely to infer a Blessing.

‘ The matter is clear as the Light of the
 ‘ Sun, that as many Persons of excellent
 ‘ Worth, Sobriety and Godliness, are intire-
 ‘ ly in the Communion of *the Church of*
 ‘ England, so there are too many of a worse
 ‘ Character, that are of it too ; and divers
 ‘ prudent, pious, and sober-minded Persons
 ‘ that are not of it. Let common Reason
 ‘ be consulted in this Case. Suppose the Ta-
 ‘ bles turn’d, and that the Rule were to be
 ‘ made the contrary way, *viz.* that to do
 ‘ this thing, but not by any means after the
 ‘ manner of *the Church of* England, were
 ‘ to be the Qualification ; and now suppose
 ‘ one of meaner Endowments, as a Man and
 ‘ a Christian, do what is requir’d, and not
 ‘ in the way of *the Church of* England ; and
 ‘ another that is of much better, does the
 ‘ same thing in that way ; were it suitable to

‘ Prudence or Justice, that because it is done
 ‘ after the way of *the Church of England*, a
 ‘ fitter Man should be reckon’d unqualify’d?
 ‘ and one of less Value be taken for quali-
 ‘ fied, because he does it a different way?
 ‘ Then is all that solid weight of Wisdom,
 ‘ Diligence, Sobriety and Goodness, to be
 ‘ weighed down by a Feather.

‘ It must surely be thought the Prudence of
 ‘ any Government, to comprehend as many
 ‘ useful Persons as it can, and no more to de-
 ‘ prive it self of the Service of such, for any
 ‘ thing less considerable than those Qualifica-
 ‘ tions are, by which they are useful, than a
 ‘ Man would tear off from himself the Limbs
 ‘ of his Body, for a spot on the Skin.

‘ And really if in our Circumstances, we
 ‘ thus narrow our Interest, all the rest of the
 ‘ World will say, that they who would de-
 ‘ stroy us, do yet find a way to be our In-
 ‘ structors, and our common Enemies do
 ‘ teach us our Politicks.

‘ P. S. The Names of Mr. *Hale* of *Eaton*
 ‘ College, and of a later most renowned Bi-
 ‘ shop of *the Church of England*, who asser-
 ‘ ted this Principle, that *if things be impos’d*
 ‘ *under the notion of indifferent, which ma-*
 ‘ *ny think sinful, and a Schism follow there-*
 ‘ *upon, the Imposers are the Schismaticks,*
 ‘ will be great in *England*, as long as their
 ‘ Writ-

‘ Writings shall live, and good Sense can
‘ be understood in them.

About this time, some had great Expectations from the Meetings of the *Ecclesiastical Commissioners* who were to prepare matters for the Convocation*. Mr. *Howe* was well acquainted, and had free and frequent Conversation with several of them, but found such a Spirit had got the Ascendant among the dignify’d Clergy, of whom the Convocation is made up, that there was no room for any thing like an Accommodation of the matters in Difference, which he often afterwards lamented, where he could use Freedom.

At length on *May 24.* this Year, *the Act for exempting their Majestys Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penaltys of certain Laws,* receiv’d the Royal Assent. The Dissenters were hereupon contented and thankful; but the High-flown Clergy generally regretted the passing of this Act. The Author of the *Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Robert South* owns in so many words, that that Doctor *by no means lik’d it* †. And it was the same as to a great many others of his Temper and Principles. Several Years after, Dr. *Henry*

* See a particular Account of the Proceedings of these Commissioners, in the *Abridgment of Mr. Baxter’s Life*, Vol. 1. pag. 452.

† Pag. 116.

Sacheverel being impeach'd by the Commons of England, the second *Article* of the Charge against him alledg'd, that he had suggested and maintain'd, that this *Toleration* granted by Law, was unreasonable, and the allowance of it unwarrantable. (1) Upon which occasion, Sir Peter King (one of the Managers for the Commons) publickly declar'd this *Toleration*, to be one of the principal Consequences of the Revolution. (2) And the Lord Lechmere (who was another) declar'd, that the Commons esteem'd the *Toleration* of Protestant Dissenters, to be one of the earliest and happiest effects of the Revolution, wisely calculated for the support and strengthening the Protestant Interest, the great End of the Revolution it self. (3) And Mr. Cowper (who was also another) own'd that this *Indulgence* was requir'd from the Legislators, as they were Christians, and as they were Men professing Humanity and Good-will towards one another. (4) And the Attorney General said, that this was one of the most necessary Acts for the good of the Kingdom. (5) And hereupon, Dr. *Sacheverel's* Doctrine of wholesome Severitys was publickly branded.

In order to the preventing (if it might be) flights of this kind, or any thing that might be extravagant in the opposite Extreme, Mr.

(1) Trial of Dr. Henry Sacheverel, pag. 4. (2) Trial, pag. 77.
 (3) Trial, pag. 24. (4) Trial, pag. 91. (5) Trial, p. 49.

Howe, very prudently, soon after the *Toleration Act* pass'd, publish'd another Sheet of Paper, which he intituled *Humble Requests both to Conformists and Dissenters touching their Temper and Behaviour toward each other, upon the lately pass'd Indulgence* †. And this also deserves to be preserv'd to Posterity.

It is there mov'd,

1. That we do not over-magnify our Differences, or count them greater than they really are. I speak now (says Mr. *Howe*) of the proper Differences which the Rule it self makes, to which the one sort conforms, and the other conforms not. Remember that there are Differences on both parts, *among themselves* incomparably greater than these, by which the one sort differs from the other. There are differences in doctrinal Sentiments that are much greater. How unconceivably greater is the difference between good Men and bad! be-

† Mr. *Matthew Henry* in his short Account of the Life of Mr. *Richard Stretton*, that is subjoin'd to his Funeral Sermon for him, ascribes this Paper to Mr. *Stretton*, and intimates that he had it from a near Relation of his, that he was the Author of it: But this I have good Reason to believe to have been a mistake. Few that have any Taste of Styles, can question it to have been Mr. *Howe's*, when once they have read it. But I can add in this Case, that I have had full Assurance from Mr. *Howe's* Family, that he was the real Author of it.

‘ tween being a Lover of the blessed God, the
‘ Lord of Heaven and Earth, and an Enemy!
‘ a real Subject of Christ and of the Devil!
‘ Have we not Reason to apprehend there
‘ are of both these, on each side? Let us
‘ take heed of having our Minds tinctur’d
‘ with a wrong Notion of this matter, as if
‘ this Indulgence divided *England* into two
‘ *Christendoms*, or distinguish’d rather be-
‘ tween *Christians* and *Mahometans*, as some
‘ Mens *Cyclopick* Fancys have an unlucky
‘ art to represent things; creating ordinary
‘ Men and Things into Monsters, and pro-
‘ digious Shapes at their own Pleasure. It
‘ has been an usual saying on both sides, that
‘ they were (in Comparison) but little things
‘ we differ’d about, or circumstantial Things.
‘ Let us not unsay it, or suffer an habit of
‘ Mind to slide into us, that consists not with
‘ it. Tho we must not go against a Judgment
‘ of Conscience in the least thing, yet let
‘ us not confound the true Differences of
‘ Things, but what are really lesser things,
‘ let them go for such.

‘ 2. Let us hereupon carefully abstain from
‘ judging each other’s State Godward upon
‘ these Differences: For hereby we shall both
‘ contradict our common Rule, and our selves.
‘ When Men make Conscience of small and
‘ doubtful things on the one hand, and the
‘ other, about which they differ, Blessed
‘ God, how little Conscience is made of the
‘ plainest

' plainest and most important Rule, not to
 ' judge one another for such Differences, *Rom.*
 ' 14. 3, 13 ! Why of all the parts of that
 ' Holy Book, is this Chapter only thought
 ' no part of God's Word ! or this Precept,
 ' so variously enforc'd in this Chapter, and so
 ' awfully, *Ver. 10, 11. But why dost thou*
 ' *judge thy Brother ? or why dost thou set at*
 ' *nought thy Brother ? We shall all stand*
 ' *before the Judgment Seat of Christ. For*
 ' *it is written, as I live saith the Lord,*
 ' *every Knee shall bow to me, and every*
 ' *Tongue shall confess to me !* Is it a light
 ' matter to usurp the Throne of Christ, the
 ' Judgment Seat of God ? Yet how com-
 ' mon has it been to say, such an one Con-
 ' forms, he hath nothing of God in him ?
 ' such an one Conforms not ; 'tis not Con-
 ' science but Humour ? God forgive both.
 ' Had they blotted *Rom. 14.* out of their
 ' Bibles ? 'Tis plain by the whole series of
 ' Discourse, that it is the judging of Mens
 ' States, and that by such small matters of
 ' Difference, that is the thing here forbidden.
 ' Some few things contain'd in this Chapter,
 ' as to *receive one another*, (as Christians, or
 ' such whom God receives) notwithstanding
 ' remaining Doubts about small matters, and
 ' not determining such doubted things in bar
 ' to the doubter, *ver. 1, 2, 3 ;* and *not to lay*
 ' *stumbling blocks in each other's way*, *ver.*
 ' *13 ; not to do the doubted thing with a*

' *mind still unsatisfy'd*, ver. 5, 23 ; not to
 ' *Censure*, either him that does or forbears ;
 ' not admitting an hard thought of him, or
 ' less favourable, than that what such an one
 ' *does, he does to the Lord*, and what the
 ' other *forbears, he forbears to the Lord*,
 ' ver. 6 : These few things I say put in Prac-
 ' tice, had taken away all Differences (that
 ' we are now considering) or the inconve-
 ' nience of them long ago. And we shall
 ' still need them as much as ever.

' 3. Let us not value our selves upon being
 ' of this or that side of the severing Line.
 ' 'Tis *Jewish*, yea *Pharisaical*, to be con-
 ' ceited, and boast our selves upon Externals,
 ' and small matters, especially if arbitrarily
 ' taken up ; and is it self an Argument of a
 ' light Mind, and incomprehensive of true
 ' Worth. Tho I cannot sincerely be of this
 ' or that way, but I must think my self in the
 ' right, and others in the wrong that differ
 ' from me, yet I ought to consider, this is
 ' but a small minute thing, a Point compar'd
 ' with the vast Orb of knowables, and of
 ' things needful, and that ought to be known.
 ' Perhaps divers that differ from me, are Men
 ' of greater and more comprehensive Minds,
 ' and have been more employ'd about greater
 ' matters ; and many, in things of more im-
 ' portance, have much more of valuable and
 ' useful Knowledge than I. Yea, and since
 ' these are not matters of Salvation we differ
 ' about,

about, so that any on either side dare considerately say, he cannot be sav'd, that is not in these respects of my mind and way; he may have more of sanctifying favoury Knowledge, more of solid Goodness, more of Grace and real Sanctity than I; the Course of his Thoughts and Studys having been by Converſe and other Accidents led more off from these things, and perhaps by a good Principle been more deeply engag'd about higher matters: For no Man's mind is able equally to consider all things fit to be consider'd; and greater things are of themselves more apt to beget holy and good Impressions upon our Spirits, than the minuter and more circumstantial things, tho relating to Religion, can be.

4. Let us not despise one another for our differing in these lesser matters. This is too common, and most natural to that Temper that offends against the foregoing Caution. Little spirited Creatures valuing themselves for small matters, must consequently have them in Contempt that want what they count their own only Excellency. He that hath nothing wherein he places worth belonging to him, besides a flaunting Peruke and a lac'd Suit, must at all Adventures think very meanly of one in a plain Garb. Where we are taught not *to judge*, we are forbidden *to despise* or set at nought one another upon these little differences.

5. Nor

5. Nor let us wonder that we differ. Unto this we are too apt, *i. e.* to think it strange, (especially upon some arguing of the Difference) that such a Man should Conform, or such an one not Conform. There is some fault in this, but which proceeds from more faulty Causes. Pride too often, and an Opinion that we understand so well, that a wrong is done us, if our Judgment be not made a Standard and Measure to another Man's. And again, ignorance of human Nature, or inconsiderateness rather, how mysterious it is, and how little can be known of it; how secret and latent little Springs there are that move this Engine to our own Mind this way or that; and what Bars (which perhaps he discerns not himself) may obstruct and shut up towards us another Man's. Have we not frequent Instances in other common Cases, how difficult it is to speak to another Man's Understanding! Speech is too penurious, not expressive enough. Frequently between Men of Sense, much more time is taken up in explaining each other's Notions, than in proving or disproving them. Nature and our present State, have in some respects left us open to God only, and made us inaccessible to one another. Why then should it be strange to me, that I cannot convey my Thought into another's Mind? 'Tis unchristian to censure, as before, and say, such
an

' an one has not my Conscience, therefore
 ' he has no Conscience at all: And it is also
 ' unreasonable and rude to say, such a one sees
 ' not with my Eyes, therefore he is stark
 ' blind. Besides, the real obscurity of the
 ' matter is not enough consider'd. I am very
 ' confident an impartial and competent Judge,
 ' upon the view of Books, later and more
 ' antient, upon such Subjects, would say,
 ' there are few metaphysical Questions dis-
 ' puted with more subtlety, than the Con-
 ' troversies about Conformity and Noncon-
 ' formity. Blessed be God that things ne-
 ' cessary to the Salvation of Souls, and that
 ' are of *true necessity* even to the Peace and
 ' Order of the Christian Church, are in com-
 ' parison so very plain.

' Moreover, there is besides Understanding
 ' and Judgment, and diverse from that hea-
 ' venly Gift which in the Scriptures is called
 ' *Grace*, such a thing as Gust and Relish be-
 ' longing to the Mind of Man, and I doubt
 ' not, to all Men, if they observe themselves;
 ' and this is as unaccountable and as various
 ' as the relishes and dis gusts of Sense. This
 ' they only wonder at, that either under-
 ' stand not themselves, or will consider no
 ' body but themselves. To bring it down
 ' to the present Case. As to those parts of
 ' Worship which are of most frequent use in
 ' our Assemblies, (whether Conforming or
 ' Nonconforming) *Prayer, and Preaching,*
 ' *and*

and Hearing God's Word, our Differences about them cannot but in part arise from the diversity of this Principle, both on the one hand and the other. One sort do more favour Prayer by a foreknown Form; another that which hath more of surprize, by a grateful variety of unexpected Expressions. And it can neither be universally said, it is a better Judgment, or more Grace, that determines Men the one way or the other; but somewhat in the Temper of their Minds distinct from both, which I know not how better to express than by *mental Taste*, the acts whereof (as the Objects are suitable or unsuitable) are relishing or disrelishing, liking or disliking: And this hath no more of Mystery in it, than that there is such a thing belonging to our Natures, as Complacency or Displacency in reference to the Objects of the Mind. And this, in the kind of it, is as common to Men, as human Nature, but as much diversify'd in Individuals, as Mens other Inclinations are, that are most fixed, and least apt to admit of Change. Now in the mention'd Case, Men cannot be universally determin'd either way, by their having better Judgment; for no sober Man can be so little modest, as not to acknowledge, that there are some of each Sentiment, that are less judicious, than some that are of the contrary Sentiment in this thing. And to say that to be more

' more determin'd this way or that, is the
 ' certain Sign or Effect, of a greater measure
 ' of Grace and Sanctity, were a great viola-
 ' tion both of Modesty and Charity. I have
 ' not met with any that have appear'd to
 ' live in more entire Communion with God,
 ' in higher Admiration of him, in a pleasanter
 ' Sense of his Love, or in a more joyful ex-
 ' pectation of eternal Life, than some that
 ' have been wont with great Delight publickly
 ' to worship God in the use of our *Common-*
 ' *Prayer*: And others I have known, as high-
 ' ly excelling in the same respects, that could
 ' by no means relish it, but have always coun-
 ' ted it insipid and nauseous. The like may
 ' be said of relishing or disrelishing Sermons
 ' preach'd in a digested set of words, or with
 ' a more flowing freedom of Speech. It
 ' were endless and odious to vie either bet-
 ' ter Judgments, or more pious Inclinations,
 ' that should universally determine Men ei-
 ' ther the one way or the other in these mat-
 ' ters. And we are no more to wonder at
 ' these Peculiarities in the Temper of Mens
 ' Minds, than at their different Tasts of Meats
 ' and Drinks; much less to fall out with
 ' them, that their Minds and Notions are
 ' not just form'd as ours are: For we should
 ' remember, they no more differ from us,
 ' than we do from them; and if we think we
 ' have the clearer Light, 'tis like they also
 ' think they have clearer. And 'tis in vain
 ' to

‘ to say, who shall be Judge? For every
‘ Man will at length judge of his own No-
‘ tions for himself, and cannot help it: for
‘ no Man’s Judgment (or relish of things,
‘ which influences his Judgment, tho he
‘ know it not) is at the command of his Will;
‘ and much less of another Man’s. And
‘ therefore,

‘ 6. Let us not be offended mutually with
‘ one another, for our different choice of
‘ this or that way, wherein we find most of
‘ real Advantage and Edification. Our grea-
‘ test Concern in this World, and which is
‘ common to us all, is the bettering of our
‘ Spirits, and preparing them for a better
‘ World. Let no Man be displeased, (espe-
‘ cially of those who agree in all the substan-
‘ tials of the same Holy Religion) that ano-
‘ ther uses the same Liberty, in choosing the
‘ way most conducing in his Experience to
‘ his great End, that he himself also uses, ex-
‘ pecting to do it without another Man’s of-
‘ fence.

‘ 7. But above all, let us with sincere
‘ Minds, more earnestly endeavour the pro-
‘ moting the Interest of Religion it self, of
‘ true Reformed Christianity, than of this
‘ or that Party. Let us long to see the Re-
‘ ligion of Christians become simple, primi-
‘ tive, agreeable to its lovely original State,
‘ and again *it self*; and each in our own
‘ Stations contribute thereto all that we are
‘ able,

able, labouring that the internal Principle of it may live and flourish in our own Souls, and be to our utmost diffus'd and spread unto other Men's. And for its Externals, as the ducture of our Rule will guide us, so gradually bend towards one common Course, that there may at length cease to be any divided Parties at all.

In the mean time, while there are, let it be remember'd, that the difference lies among Christians and Protestants, not between such and Pagans. Let us therefore carry it accordingly towards each other; and consider our Assemblies are all Christian and Protestant Assemblies, differing in their Administrations, for the most part, not in the things pray'd for, or deprecated, or taught, but in certain Modes of Expression: And differing really, and in the substance of things, less by mere Conformity or Nonconformity to the publick Rule of the Law, than many of them that are under it do from one another, and than divers that are not under it. For Instance, go into one Congregation, that is a conforming one, and you have the publick Prayers read in the Desk, and afterwards a Form of Prayer perhaps us'd by the Preacher in the Pulpit, of his own Composure, before he begins his Sermon. Go into another Congregation, and Prayer is perform'd without either sort of Form; and perhaps the difference in this

is

' is not so great. It may be the Conformist
 ' uses no preconceived Form of his own, and
 ' the Nonconformist may. Both instruct the
 ' People out of the same Holy Book of God's
 ' Word. But now suppose one of the former
 ' sort, reads the publick Prayers gravely,
 ' with the appearance of great Reverence,
 ' Fervency, and pious Devotion; and one
 ' of the latter sort that uses them not, does
 ' however pray for the same things, with
 ' Judgment and with like Gravity and Af-
 ' fection, and they both instruct their Hear-
 ' ers fitly and profitably; nothing is more
 ' evident than that the Worship in these two
 ' Assemblys doth much less considerably
 ' differ to a pious and judicious Mind, than
 ' if in the latter the Prayers were also read,
 ' but carelessly, sleepily, or scenically, flaun-
 ' tingly, and with manifest irreverence, and
 ' the Sermon like the rest; or than if in the
 ' former, all the performance were inept,
 ' rude, or very offensively drowsy or slug-
 ' gish.

' Now let us shew our selves Men, and
 ' manly Christians, not sway'd by Trifles
 ' and little Things, as Children by this or that
 ' Dress or Mode, or Form of our Religion,
 ' which may perhaps please some the more
 ' for its real indecency: But know, that if
 ' we continue picquering about Forms, the
 ' Life be lost, and we come to bear the
 ' Character of that Church, *thou hast a*
 ' *name*

‘ name that thou livest, and art dead, we
 ‘ may e’er long (after all the wonders God
 ‘ hath wrought for us) expect to hear of our
 ‘ Candlestick’s being remov’d, and that our
 ‘ Sun shall go down at Noon-day.

‘ The true serious Spirit and Power of Re-
 ‘ ligion and Godliness, will act no Man against
 ‘ his Conscience, or his Rule understood, but
 ‘ will oblige him in all Acts of Worship (as
 ‘ well as of his whole Conversation) to keep
 ‘ close to Gospel-Prescription, so far as he
 ‘ can discern it. And that he will find re-
 ‘ quires, that in subordination to the divine
 ‘ Glory, he seriously design the working out
 ‘ the Salvation of his own Soul, and take
 ‘ that Course in order thereto, put himself
 ‘ under such a Ministry, and such a way of
 ‘ using God’s Ordinances, as he finds most
 ‘ profitable and conducing to that great End,
 ‘ and that doth his Soul most real Good. If
 ‘ you are Religious, or of this or that Mode
 ‘ or way of Religion, to serve a carnal De-
 ‘ sign for your self or your Party, not to save
 ‘ your Soul, you commit the most detestable
 ‘ Sacrilege, and alienate the most sacred thing
 ‘ in the World, *Religion*, from its true End;
 ‘ which will not only lose that End, but infer
 ‘ an heavy Vengeance. Yea and ’tis too pos-
 ‘ sible to transgress dangerously, by preferring
 ‘ that which is less, tho never so confidently
 ‘ thought to be Divine, before that which is
 ‘ greater, or separately from its true End.

' You greatly prevaricate, if you are more
 ' zealously intent to promote Independency
 ' than Christianity, Presbytery than Christia-
 ' nity, Prelacy than Christianity, as any of
 ' these are the Interest of a Party, and not
 ' consider'd in subserviency to the Christian
 ' Interest, nor design'd for promoting the
 ' Edification and Salvation of your own Soul.
 ' But that being your Design, living Religion
 ' will keep your Eye upon your End, and
 ' make you steady, and constantly true to
 ' that, and to your Rule, without which you
 ' can never hope to reach your End.

' Now hereupon such as conform to the
 ' publick Establishment, and they that dissent
 ' from it, may differ from each other upon a
 ' twofold Account: Either (1.) as judging
 ' the contrary way to be simply unlawful;
 ' Or (2.) as judging it to be only less edi-
 ' fying. 'Tis not the business of this Paper
 ' to discuss, who herein judge aright, and
 ' who wrong: But supposing their Judgment
 ' to remain as it is (which they themselves
 ' however should examine, and if it be wrong
 ' rectify;) I shall say somewhat to each of
 ' these Cases.

' To the former, while your Judgment
 ' continues as it is, 'tis true you cannot join
 ' in worship with the contrary minded: But
 ' nothing forbids, but you can be kind, con-
 ' versable, courteous towards them; and your
 ' common Christian Profession (besides the
 ' Rules

‘ Rules of Humanity) obliges you so to be :
 ‘ Yea and even to converse with them as oc-
 ‘ casion invites, more intimately as Chris-
 ‘ tians, the visible marks of serious Christiani-
 ‘ ty appearing in them.

‘ To the latter sort it is acknowledg’d,
 ‘ you cannot constantly join in worship with
 ‘ those of the contrary way, because you
 ‘ ought ordinarily to worship God in that
 ‘ way which you judge to be best, and most
 ‘ agreeable to the divine Rule, (tho you are
 ‘ not oblig’d utterly to abandon any for its
 ‘ Imperfections or Corruptions, that is not
 ‘ corrupt in the very Essentials;) and you
 ‘ ought most frequently to attend on that
 ‘ which you find to be most edifying to your
 ‘ own Soul; as that should be your more
 ‘ ordinary Diet that best agrees with you.
 ‘ That way therefore you must most con-
 ‘ stantly adhere to, which is most grateful and
 ‘ favoury to you; because you cannot so
 ‘ much edify by what you less relish. But
 ‘ your Judgment and Latitude will well al-
 ‘ low you, sometimes to frequent the Assem-
 ‘ blys with which you hold not constant
 ‘ Communion. And if it will allow, it will
 ‘ also direct you thereto for a valuable End;
 ‘ as that you may signify, you ordinarily de-
 ‘ cline them not as no Christians, or their
 ‘ Worship as no Worship, but as more de-
 ‘ fective, or less edifying, and that you may
 ‘ maintain Love, and both express and beget

‘ a Disposition to nearer Union. And if our
 ‘ Rulers shall judge such Intercourses con-
 ‘ ducing to so desirable an End, they may per-
 ‘ haps in due time think it reasonable, to put
 ‘ things into that State, that Ministers of both
 ‘ sorts may be capable of inviting one another
 ‘ occasionally, to the brotherly Offices of mu-
 ‘ tual Assistance in each other’s Congregations.
 ‘ For which, and all things that tend to make
 ‘ us an happy People, we must wait upon him
 ‘ in whose Hands their Hearts are.’

Having brought down my History thus far,
 I shall not in what remains, confine my self
 to relate things just as they pass’d Year by
 Year, but shall for brevity sake, rather choole
 to give an account in the general, of Mr.
Howe’s Conduct, in the warm Debates that
 arose among the Dissenting Ministers, some
 time after the *Revolution* and *Toleration*; in
 the Controversy upon the Doctrine of the
Trinity; and the Dispute about *Occasional*
Conformity: And then shall add some account
 of his *Works* not yet mentioned, and of
 his last Sickness, Death, and Burial, and his
 exemplary Character; and subjoin in the close
 of my Narrative, (which I hope cannot dis-
 gust by its Length, when it entertains with
 so great Variety) such Letters of his, as I have
 been able to recover.

I shall begin with the Differences among
 the Dissenting Ministers soon after the *Revo-*
lution,

lution, and when they had obtain'd a *Toleration*. These were very unhappy; and the more so, because they gave too much occasion to those to insult, who had often said, do but let these People alone, and you'll see, they'll soon fall out among themselves. We may date the rise of them, from the *Heads of Agreement*, assented to by the Body of the *United Ministers* * in and about the City, and in the several Parts of the Country, which were publish'd in 1691. Mr. *Howe* had a considerable Hand in drawing them up. The Design of them was to bring those that were *Presbyterian*, and those that were *Congregational* in their Judgments, to a Coalition, that so their Difference might for the future be bury'd in Oblivion: But it so fell out, that some few of those who were in their Judgment strictly *Congregational*, standing out, and refusing to approve *these Heads of Agreement*, and concur in the designed *Union*, ply'd their Brethren who were of the same Sentiments with them, who had consented to the *Union*, so close, that they gave them no rest, till they broke off from those, to whom it was intended they should for the future have been more strictly united. It was observ'd in *Germany*, that that which they call'd *the Book of Concord*, was the occasion of great

* See these Heads of Agreement at large, *Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life*, Vol. 1. pag. 476.

Discord †: So also, this designed *Union* among us, was the occasion of new Divisions and Quarrels. It was indeed at first much applauded, and the *Heads of Agreement* were generally approv'd and subscrib'd, and they who styl'd themselves *the United Brethren* acted very harmoniously, and had weekly Meetings, in which matters of common Concernment were manag'd and adjusted with great Unanimity. They by Consent, publish'd a Declaration against Mr. *Richard Davis* of *Rothwel* in the County of *Northampton* ‡, and did several other things that might have contributed to the keeping up Order and Regularity, and the making the Dissenters appear a compacted Body: But at length they had separate weekly Meetings, and such Feuds and Jealousies arose amongst them, as issu'd in a Rupture that had affecting Consequences, in which it was apprehended that they who never were of the Union, had no small Hand. One great occasion of the Debates now on foot, was the reprinting of the Works of Dr. *Crisp*, (who was noted for his *Antinomian* Notions, tho reputed a very pious Man) with some Sermons added; to which a Paper was prefix'd, subscrib'd by several; for which a sort of an Apology was afterwards pub-

† See *Brandt's History of the Reformation*, in and about the *Low Countries*, Vol. 1. Book 12. p. 364.

‡ See this *Declaration*, *Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life*, Vol. 1. pag. 512.

lish'd, which was prefix'd, to Mr. *John Flavell's* Discourse intitled, *A Blow at the Root; or the Causes and Cures of mental Errors*. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) *Daniel Williams* wrote against the Errors of these Sermons, a Book intitled, *Gospel Truth stated and vindicated*, to which also there were several Names subscrib'd; and Mr. *Lorimer* wrote a large Apology for those Subscribers; and a great variety of Pamphlets were publish'd on both sides, which made a great noise, and stir. And at length, there came out in 1692. a Paper intitled, *The Agreement in Doctrine among the Dissenting Ministers in London*, which was subscrib'd by Mr. *Howe* among the rest, but it answer'd not the End; for the Debates were still continu'd*.

One Party suspected (or at least pretended to suspect) the other of verging too much towards *Arminianism*, and even *Socinianism*; and they on the other side charg'd them with encouraging *Antinomianism*. Several Papers were hereupon drawn up, and subscrib'd, in order to an Accommodation; there was a first, a second, and a third Paper, of this sort: and these very Papers created new Altercations and Debates, that were carry'd on with no small heat and pettishness; and a number that stood by, could hardly tell what it was they con-

* He that would see this Controversy among the Dissenters represented at large, would do well to consult Mr. *Nelson's* Life of Bishop *Bull*, pag. 259, 260, 261, &c.

tended about. Several new Creeds were fram'd, and still objected against by some or other, either as too large or too strait, too full or too empty. The World was wearied out with Pamphlets and Creed-making, and the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Dr. *Edwards* were appeal'd to, and gave their Judgment; and yet the Jealousies that were on foot were so strong, that they did not of a long time abate or decrease: And the only peace there was to be found, was among a few standers by, who without meddling with Debates, amicably persuaded the Contenders, since they could not agree to unite, to agree to differ, to lay aside their heat, and speak as well of each other as they could. And such were the Effects of these Brangles at that time, upon the most common Conversation, and so odd do the Controversys that were then manag'd, appear, if review'd at a distance, as to convince considerate Observers, that *there is no such Enemy to Peace as Jealousy encourag'd; and that indulg'd Suspicion is an endless Fund of Contention.*

I cannot help here inserting a Passage out of Bishop *Stillington* in his Answer to Mr. *Lobb's* Appeal. *There is, says he, a remarkable Story in the History of the Synod of Dort, which may not be improper in this place. There were in one of the Universitys of that Country two Professors, both very warm and extremely zealous for that which they ac-*
counted

counted the most Orthodox Doctrine; but it happen'd that one of these accus'd the other before the Synod for no fewer than fifty Errors, tending to Socinianism, Pelagianism, &c. and wonderful Heat there was on both sides. At last a Committee was appointed to examine this dreadful Charge, and upon Examination they found no ground for the Charge of Socinianism, or any other Heresy, but only that he had asserted too much the use of ambiguous and Scholastick Terms, and endeavour'd to bring in the way of the Schoolmen in his Writings; and therefore the Synod dismiss'd him with that prudent Advice, rather to keep to the Language of the Scripture, than of the Schools †.

*But as to Mr. Howe, he had sufficiently declar'd his Judgment with respect to the matters which were now so eagerly disputed on, in the Writings which he had publish'd; and it was his great Aim to keep things from running to extremity. In order to it, he publish'd, *The Carnality of Christian Contention*, in two Sermons preach'd at the Merchants Lecture in Broadstreet in 1693. The Preface to these Discourses breathes so heavenly a Charity and Concern for the truly Christian Interest, that (as Mr. Spademan ‡ observes) a very eminent Divine of the establish'd*

† Bishop Stillingfleet's Works, Vol 3. pag. 405, 406.

‡ Funeral Sermon, for Mr. Howe, p. 22.

Church did profess a willingness to lay down his own Life, if such a state of things as is there describ'd, might obtain among Christians.

I shall be at the pains to transcribe from thence a few remarkable Passages. He observes, that when in one place Christians are exhorted to contend earnestly for the Faith, and are told in another that *the Servant of the Lord must not strive*, 'tis plain there is a Contention for Religion which is a Duty, and a Contention even concerning Religion which is a Sin. *The Servant of the Lord must not strive*, so as to exclude Gentleness, aptness to Instruct, and Patience: and *we are to contend earnestly for the Faith*, but with a sedate Mind, full of Charity, Candour, Kindness, and Benignity, towards them we strive with. There is a great difference between the Churches Contention with Enemies without it, and Contentions within it self. The former unite it, and increase its Strength and Vigour; the latter divide and enfeeble it. As to those of this latter kind, nothing is more evident, or deserves to be more consider'd, than that as the Christian Church has grown more Carnal, it hath grown more Contentious; and as more Contentious, still more and more Carnal. The favour hath been lost of the great things of the Gospel, which only afford proper nutriment to the Life of Godliness; and it hath diverted to lesser things, about which the

the contentious disputative Genius might employ it self. Thereby hath it grown strong and vigorous, and acquir'd the Power to transform the Church from a spiritual Society, enliven'd, acted and govern'd by the Spirit of Christ, into a mere Carnal thing like the rest of the World. Carnality hath become its governing Principle, and torn it into Fragments and Parties, each of which will be the Church, inclose it self within its own peculiar Limits, exclusive of all the rest, claim and appropriate to it self the Rights and Privileges which belong to the Christian Church in common, yea and Christ himself, as if he were to be so inclos'd or confin'd. Hence it is said, Lo here is Christ, and there he is, till he is scarce to be found any where. And how manifest are the Tokens of his Displeasure and Retirement! Hereupon he offers it to Consideration,

1. Whether for any Party of Christians, to make unto it self other limits of Communion than Christ hath made, and hedge up it self within those Limits, excluding those whom Christ would admit, and admitting those whom he would exclude, be not in it self a real Sin? The Holy Table is the Symbol of Communion: And if it be the Lord's, it ought to be free to his Guests, and appropriate to them. Who should dare to invite others, or forbid these?

2. If

2. If it be a Sin, is it not an heinous one? Christianity it self should measure the Communion of Christians as such; and visible Christianity their visible Communion. Christianity must be estimated principally by its End, which refers not to this World, but to the World to come, and an happy state there. Christians are a sort of Men tending to God and Blessedness, under the Conduct of Christ, to whom they have by Covenant devoted themselves, and to God in him. If any Society of Men professedly Christian, make Limits of their Communion, admitting those that Christ's Rule excludes, and excluding them whom it would admit, they break Christ's Constitution, and set up another. — If they be little things only that we add; the less they are, the greater the Sin, to make them necessary, and hang so great things upon them; break the Churches Peace and Unity by them, and of them to make a new Gospel, new Terms of Life and Death, a new way to Heaven! And is in effect to say, if you will not take Christianity with these Additions of ours, you shall not be Christians; you shall have no Christian Ordinances, no Christian Worship; we will as far as in us is, exclude you Heaven it self, and all means of Salvation! If this be sinful, it is a sin of the deepest dye. But,

3. If we suppose this a Sin and an heinous one, how far doth the Guilt of it spread!
How

How few are they that lay their Communion open to visible Christianity as such, excluding none of whatsoever Denomination, nor receiving any that by Christian rational Estimate cannot be judg'd such !

4. How few that consider this as the provoking Cause of Christ's being so much a stranger to the Christian Church ! and how little is it to be hop'd we shall ever see good Days, till this wasting Evil is redress'd ! Carnal Interest is the thing every where design'd by one Party and another. The Church for 13 or 1400 Years hath been gradually growing a multiform, mangled, shatter'd, and most deformed thing ; broken and parcel'd into no body knows how many several sorts of Communion. Not only things most alien from real Christianity are added to it, but substituted in the room of it, and prefer'd before it : Yea, and things most destructive of it, indulg'd and magnify'd in opposition to it. Never were there more fervent Contentions among all sorts, whose Notions, Opinions, Modes, and Forms are to be prefer'd. The Word of God tells us, that *to be carnally minded is Death*. These Contests seem therefore to express great sollicitude how most neatly to adorn a Carcass ; or at best how with greatest Art and Curiosity to trim and apparel gorgeously, a languishing Man in the feared approaches of Death, instead of endeavouring to save his Life.

It

It were an happy Omen, if good Men could once agree what in particular to pray for. One would think it should not be difficult to Men of sincere Minds, upon serious Consideration of the present sad state of things, to agree to pray that the Church of Christ may be more entirely one, and that Unity might be preserv'd in the bond of Peace, and this in order to its growth to the measure of the stature of a perfect Man in Christ: For who sees not, that the Christian Interest is naturally obstructed in its extensive growth by the visible disunion of the Christian Community? and penally too, by the offence given to the Spirit of Christ, who thereupon in great degrees withdraws it self? That only which the present state of things admits of, is, that we keep our selves united in Mind and Spirit with all serious Christians, in the plain and necessary things wherein they all agree; and preserve a resolved unaddictedness to any Party in the things wherein they differ. That for actual local Communion, we join with them that we judge come nearest to our common Rule; and labour to center in some such Scheme of Doctrinals, as may be of use distinctly to inform others concerning our Sentiments; provided it be avowed to be lookt upon but as a *mensura mensurata*, reserving unto the Scriptures the Honour of being the only *mensura mensurans*, and so that we only own it as agreeable to the Scriptures: De-
claring

claring we take it to be agreeable thereto in the main, and for substance, without attributing a sacredness to the very words of a mere human Composition, which indeed we cannot attribute to the words us'd in the Translation of the Bible it self, &c.

In the two Discourses that follow, he shews that much of a very blameable Carnality may shew it self in and about spiritual Matters, and particularly even in defending the Truths of the Gospel, and that this may be discover'd by several Indications.

And he declares this to be the Case, when Christians, who are very far agreed in the most important things, make little of the things wherein they are agreed, tho ever so great, in comparison of the much less things wherein they differ: And, when there is too much aptness to lay greater stress than is needful upon some unscriptural words, in delivering Scripture-Doctrine: When we consider with too little Indulgence one another's Mistakes and Misapplications in the use even of Scripture-words, placing them (as some may do) upon things to which they do not properly belong, when yet they agree about the things themselves: When there is an Agreement about the main and principal things that the Scripture-Revelation contains and carrys in it; but there is not that agreement about their mutual Respects and References unto one another:

ther: And when we are over intent to mould and square Gospel-Truths and Doctrines by human Measures and Models, and too earnestly strive to make them correspond.

He adds, that Carnality also appears, when there is a discernable proneness to oppose the great things of the Gospel to one another, and to exalt or magnify one, above or against another: When any do with great Zeal contend for this or that Opinion or Notion as very Sacred and highly Spiritual, with no other Design than that under that pretence they may indulge their own carnal Inclination with the greater Liberty: When in maintaining any Doctrine of the Gospel in opposition to others, we industriously set our selves to pervert their meaning, and impute things to them that they never say; or if we charge their Opinions whom we oppose, with Consequences which they disclaim: When Disputes arise at length to Wrath, to angry Strife, yea and even to fixed Enmity: When any adventure to judge of the Consciences and States of them whom they oppose, or from whom they differ: When we over magnify our own Understandings, and assume too much to our selves: And then finally, Carnality greatly shews it self, in an Affectation and Desire of having such Disputes still kept afoot, and the Contests continu'd, without either Limit or rational Design.

He

He illustrates each Article by fuitable Instances ; and then crys out, Can none remember when the disputative Humour had even eaten out the Power and Spirit of practical Religion and Godlinefs ? Thither things are again tending, if either by Severity or Mercy, God do not prevent and repress that Tendency. As yet I fear the Humour is violent, when the Fervour of Mens Spirits is such, as to carry them over all Scripture-Directions and Animadversions, that they may signify nothing with them ; only make it their business each one to animate the more vogued Champions of their own Party into the highest Ferments. Let us consider we are professedly going to Heaven. We shall carry Truth and the Knowledge of God thither with us ; we shall carry Purity thither, devotedness of Soul to God and our Redeemer, divine Love and Joy, with whatever else of real permanent Excellency hath a fixed seat and place in our Souls. But do we think we shall carry strife to Heaven ? Shall we carry Anger to Heaven ? Envyings, Heart-burnings, Animositys, Enmities, Hatred of our Brethren and fellow Christians, shall we carry these to Heaven with us ? Let us labour to divert our selves, and strike off from our Spirits every thing that shall not go with us to Heaven, or is equally unsuitable to our end and way, that there may be nothing to obstruct and hinder

O

our

our abundant entrance at length into the everlasting Kingdom.

But no Reasonings, Expostulations or Complaints would avail to extinguish the Flame that was kindled. At length, there was a Design form'd in 1694, to exclude Mr. *Williams* out of the Lecture at *Pinner's-Hall*; and then there was a new Tuesday Lecture set up at *Salters-Hall*, and Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Howe*, and Mr. *Alsop* bore Mr. *Williams* Company in this new Lecture; and the other two who continu'd at *Pinner's-Hall*, viz. Mr. *Mead* and Mr. *Cole*, had four more join'd to them. Mr. *Howe* in his first turn at the new Lecture in *Salters-Hall*, preach'd a very affecting Sermon, from Isa. 64. 7. *And there is none that calleth upon thy name, that stirreth up himself to take hold of thee: for thou hast hid thy face from us, and hast consumed us because of our iniquities.* And after this, no farther Attempts (as I know of) were made for a Coalition, but the heat and strangeness abated by degrees, and they learnt to keep up a friendly Correspondence with each other, making allowance for a diversity of Sentiments; but acting in concert in all matters of common Concernment, which was by Experience found to be much more comfortable, than the continuance of Strife and Contention, which tends to Confusion, and every evil Work.

However,

However, having obtain'd a Copy of a Letter, written by Mr. *Howe*, to his Dear and Intimate Friend, Mr. *Spilsbury*, (at his desire) upon occasion of the setting up another *Tuesday* Lecture, I shall here insert it, because it may help to give some Light into this matter.

London, April 20. 95.

My Dear Brother,

YOU strangely forget your self, when you say I gave you no account of the *Pinner's-Hall* Business, of which I sent you a large Narrative, when the business was recent; which if it miscarry'd, tell me so, and I promise you I will never do the like again: For it is a very discouraging thing, when it is so hard a matter to get time to write such long Letters, to have them lost by the way; or it is not better, if when they are receiv'd, they are taken *pro non scriptis*. God knows how I strove against that Division. Almost all my Friends that call'd me to bear a part in that Lecture, perceiving the violence of the other Party, agreed to remove to a much more convenient place; and they were, so far as I can learn, the greatest part of the *Antient Subscribers*, who were grave, sober Citizens. They invited Mr. *Mead* as well as me. If he would not go, I could not help that.

‘ His Acquaintance lay more among the o-
‘ ther, as mine did with these. He and they
‘ all know the many Meetings we have had
‘ to prevent the Breach; he and I with divers
‘ of them on both sides. And they (who
‘ are now of *Pinner's-Hall*) ran against his
‘ Advice and mine, when they had desir'd us
‘ to meet purposely to advise them. He hath
‘ been since as weary of them as others, as
‘ he hath own'd to me. They avow'd it for
‘ a Principle before we parted, they would
‘ lay any of us aside at their Pleasure, with-
‘ out giving a Reason: And were told there-
‘ upon, we would lay down without giving
‘ them a Reason; tho I think that it self was
‘ a sufficient Reason. They know too, how
‘ often, since the Lecture was broken into
‘ two, and it appeared now there were two
‘ Congregations, which no one place could
‘ receive, I have urg'd both publickly and
‘ privately, that the same Lecturers might
‘ alternate in both Places, which would take
‘ away all appearance of disunion; and who
‘ they were only that oppos'd it. Upon these
‘ Terms I had preach'd with them still; but
‘ I will not be ty'd to them, nor any Party,
‘ so as to abandon all others. My frequent
‘ insisting in Sermons among them, when I
‘ saw whither things tended, that these were
‘ tokens of what was coming, (just as thou
‘ writest) will be thought on it may be here-
‘ after, tho then it was not. Above all, that
‘ which

‘ which determin’d me was, that when I so-
 ‘ lemnly propos’d to them in a Sermon, the
 ‘ keeping a Fast, before they went on to that
 ‘ fatal Rupture ; and it was as solemnly pro-
 ‘ mis’d by the chief of them, there should be
 ‘ no step farther made without a Fast ; it
 ‘ should be declined afterwards. Hereupon I
 ‘ told them in my last Sermon there, I should
 ‘ be afraid of confining my self to such as
 ‘ were afraid of Fasting and Prayer in so im-
 ‘ portant a Case, (repeating their own good
 ‘ Resolution to that purpose ;) and began
 ‘ my Course in the other Place with a Fast,
 ‘ to lament what we could not prevent.
 ‘ These things will be recollected another
 ‘ Day.

‘ In the mean time there never was greater
 ‘ intimacy or endearedness between Mr. *Mead*
 ‘ and me, than now. Last Week, he desir’d
 ‘ me only, without any other, to join with
 ‘ him in keeping a Fast at his House, about
 ‘ some private Affairs of his own, which we
 ‘ did. I was to have preach’d at his place
 ‘ to morrow, after my own Work at home :
 ‘ But present Indisposition prevents me as to
 ‘ both. We have however agreed to ex-
 ‘ change some times: But this cannot last
 ‘ long. The things that threaten us make
 ‘ hast. Only let us be found among the
 ‘ Mourners in *Zion* ; comforts will come, in
 ‘ this or the better World. I just now heard

The LIFE of
 ' from Mr. Porter out of *Sussex*, who en-
 ' quires after thee.

In the Lord, Farewel;

To thee and thine,

from me and mine,

with most entire and

undecaying Affection,

J. H.

Great also were the Debates that were at this time on foot about the Doctrine of the Trinity. Different Explications of that Doctrine had been publish'd by Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Sherlock*, Dr. *South*, and Dr. *Cudworth*, and others; and a certain Writer publish'd *Considerations on these Explications*, which occasion'd Mr. *Howe* in 1694, to publish a Tract, intitled, *A calm and sober Inquiry concerning the Possibility of a Trinity in the Godhead, in a Letter to a Person of worth*. To which were added, some Letters formerly written to Dr. *Wallis*, on the same Subject.

In this Discourse he waves the Question about three Persons in the Deity, tho he declares the use of that Term neither blameable, nor indefensible; and only inquires whether the Father, the Son or Word, and the Holy Ghost,

Ghost, cannot possibly admit of sufficient Distinction from one another, to answer the Parts and Purposes severally assign'd 'em by the Scripture, in the Christian Oeconomy, and yet be each of 'em God, consistently with this indubitable truth, that there can be but one God. This he asserts, to be no absurdity or contradiction.

He premises, that he undertakes not to shew that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are Three and but One in the same respect: and that he only designs to represent this matter as possible to be some way, tho not as definitely certain to be this way or that. This being done, he

1. Acknowledges that whereas we do with greatest certainty and clearness conceive of the Deity, as an intellectual Being, comprehensive of infinite and universal Perfection, so do we conclude it a Being necessarily existent. He is the *I am*: And whatsoever intellectual Being is necessarily existent is divine; whereas whatsoever Being is contingent, is a Creature.

2. He affirms, that whatsoever *Simplicity* the ever-blessed God hath by any express Revelation claim'd to himself, or can by evident and irrefragable reason be demonstrated to belong to him as a Perfection, ought to be ascrib'd to him: But such *Simplicity* as he has not claim'd, such as can never be prov'd to belong to him, or to be any real Perfection, such

as would prove an imperfection and a blemish, &c. we ought not to ascribe to him.

3. He declares, that such as have thought themselves oblig'd by the plain word of God to acknowledge a *Trinity* in the Godhead of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but withal to diminish the *Distinction* of the one from the other, so as even to make it next to nothing, by reason of the straits into which unexamin'd Maxims concerning the Divine *Simplicity* have cast their Minds, have yet not thought that to be absolute or omnimodous.

4. Since we may offend very highly by an arrogant pretence to the Knowledge we have not, but shall not offend by confessing the ignorance which we cannot remedy, he infers, we should abstain from confident conclusions in the dark, especially concerning the nature of God; and from saying, we clearly see a *sufficient Distinction* of Father, Son, and Spirit in the Godhead cannot be, or is impossible.

5. Waving the many artificial Unions of distinct things, that united and continuing distinct make one thing, under one name, he proposes only to consider what is natural, and instances in what is nearest to us in our very selves. Now we find, as to our selves, that we are made up of a Mind and a Body; somewhat that can think, and somewhat that cannot; sufficiently distinct, yet so united as to make up one Man. He adds,

6. That

6. That the making up two things of so different natures into one thing, was possible to be done, since it is actually done; 'twas what God could do, for he hath done it. And if it be possible to him, to unite two things of so very different natures into one thing, 'twould be hard to assign a colourable reason, why it should not be as possible to him to unite two things of a like nature. He argues,

7. That if such an Union of three Things, so as that they shall be truly one Thing, and yet remain distinct, tho united, can be effected, then it is not intrinsically, or in itself impossible.

8. If such an *Union* with such *Distinction* be not in itself impossible, 'tis offer'd to consideration, whether we shall have a Conception in our own Mind any thing more incongruous, if we conceive such an *Union*, with such *distinction*, unmade and eternal, in an unmade or uncreated Being.

9. Supposing it possible that three spiritual Beings might be in a state of so near Union with continuing distinction, as to admit of becoming one spiritual Being, as well as that a spiritual Being and a corporeal Being may be in a state of so near Union, with continuing distinction, as to become one spiritual corporeal Being: He queries, whether supposing the former of these to be as possible to be done, as the latter, which is **done** already,
we

we may not as well suppose somewhat like it, but infinitely more perfect in the uncreated Being ?

10. He affirms, that the Union of the two Natures, the Humane with the Divine, in one Person of the Son of God, cannot appear to considerate Persons more conceivable or possible, than the suppos'd Union of three distinct Essences in the one Godhead.

11. He affirms, there is nothing in all this repugnant to such *Simplicity* as God anywhere claims to his own Being, or that plain reason will constrain us to ascribe to him, or that is really in it self any Perfection.

12. He adds, that if we should suppose three spiritual necessary Beings, the one whereof were mere Power destitute of either Wisdom or Goodness, another mere Wisdom destitute of either Goodness or Power, and a third mere Goodness destitute of either Power or Wisdom, existing separately and apart from each other ; this triple Conception would overthrow it self, and could allow little ease to a considerate Mind ; for no one of these could be God : But conceiving essential Power, Wisdom and Goodness concurring, in one spiritual necessarily existent Being, and not only permeating each other, but really and vitally united, in the most perfect and intimate manner, there is nothing of repugnancy, contradiction or absurdity in the matter. But then 'tis added,

13. That

13. That this is only a possible Supposition, of what for ought we know may be. This (he says) argues no Composition in the Being of God; nor are we under the precise Notions of Power, Wisdom and Goodness, to conceive of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

14. This (he says) does not make three Gods, it only asserts so much *distinction* between the Father, Son and Spirit, as is necessary to the founding the distinct attributions which in the Scriptures are severally given them, without affirming they are three distinct Substances, three infinite Minds or Spirits.

15. The main thing (he says) we are searching for, is what the most sacred Godhead may be, to which a *Oneness* is ascrib'd with a threefold *Distinction*; and finding there are in the Creation made Unions, with sufficient remaining distinction, particularly in our selves, that we are a Soul and a Body, that the Soul is call'd the Man, and the Body too, we are led to apprehend it more easily possible, there might be two Spirits so united as to be one thing, yet continuing distinct; and if two, there might be three. And if such a made *Union*, with continuing *distinction*, be possible in created Being, it may not be impossible in the uncreated, that there may be such an eternal unmade Union, with continu'd distinction.

16. The *Unity* of the Godhead is declar'd to be sav'd, because the Supposition takes in the natural, eternal, necessary Union of all the three: Nor is the Godhead suppos'd more necessarily to exist, than these three are to co-exist in the nearest and most intimate Union with each other therein.

17. But an Hypothesis in this Affair, which leaves out the very *nexus*, that natural eternal Union, or leaves it out of its proper place, and insists upon *mutual Consciousness*, which is but a consequence thereof, wants the principal thing requisite to the saving the *Unity* of the Godhead.

18. The Order of *Priority* and *Posteriority*, which the Names Father, Son, and Spirit, do more than intimate, is declar'd to be this way preserv'd and comply'd with.

19. If it is urg'd, that one individual necessarily existent spiritual Being alone is God, and is all that is signify'd by the name of God; 'tis answer'd, that if by one individual necessarily existent spiritual Being, either the Father, Son, or Holy Ghost is meant, taken sejunctly, it is deny'd: for both the other are truly signify'd by the name of God too, as well as that one.

20. If it is farther objected, that the Notion of God is this way made to comprehend Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and a Godhead besides common to these three: 'Tis answer'd, that the Notion of God imports not
any

any thing more of real Being than is contain'd in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, taken together, and most intimately, naturally, and vitally, by eternal necessity, united with one another. 'Tis added,

21. That let such an Union be conceiv'd in the Being of God, with such distinction, and the absolute Perfection of the Deity, and the perfect Felicity thereof, will be the more apprehensible with us.

22. And yet as to Delight in Society, 'tis own'd we are not strictly to measure God by ourselves, farther than as he himself prompts and leads us.

23. However, 'tis declar'd, that thus conceiving, the sacred Trinunity will be so remote from any shadow of inconsistency or repugnancy, that no necessity can remain upon us, of torturing Wit, and racking Invention, to do a labour'd and artificial Violence to numerous and plain Texts of Scripture, only to undeify our glorious Redeemer, and do the utmost despite to the Spirit of Grace, &c.

This *Inquiry* of Mr. *Howe's* was reflected on, in a *Postscript to the Defence of Dr. Sherlock's Notion of the Trinity in Unity*; and thereupon he in the same year, publish'd a *Letter to a Friend, concerning that Postscript.*

In this Letter Mr. *Howe* inquires, whether in his printed *Inquiry*, he had said more than
Dean

Dean *Sherlock*, or more than is defensible, of the *Distinction* of the sacred Three in the Godhead; and also, whether the Dean had said so much as he had done, or so much as was requisite, of their *Union*.

He shews that the Dean must be judg'd, by every one that understands common Sense, to have heighten'd the *Distinction* of the three Persons, at least as much as he had done in his *Inquiry*: And that the Dean said not enough in his Book to salve the *Unity* of the Godhead, but ought to have insisted upon somewhat prior to *mutual Consciousness*, as constituent of that *Unity*. He shews that he wrongs him, and wounds himself: And concludes, that since the difference between the sacred Three, which only proceeds from their natural eternal Order, is conjecturable only, but is really unknown, unreveal'd and inscrutable, it is better herein, to confess the imperfection of that Knowledge which we have, than to boast of that which we have not, or aspire to that which we cannot have.

After this, there came out *some Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, in a Letter to H. H. And Mr. *Howe* being therein concern'd, in 1695 publish'd a *View of those Considerations*, in a Letter to the former Friend. Wherein, he gives it as his Judgment, that much Service might be done to the common Interest of Religion, by a free mutual Communication of
even

even more doubtful thoughts, if such Disquisitions were pursu'd with more Candour, and with less Confidence and prepossession of Mind, or addictedness to the Interest of any Party whatsoever. If it were rather endeavour'd to reason one another into, or out of, this or that Opinion, than either by sophistical Collusions to cheat, or to hector by great Words, one that is not of our Mind. Or if the Design were less to expose an Adversary, than to clear the matter in Controversy. Besides, that if such Equanimity did more generally appear and govern in Transactions of this nature, it would produce a greater Liberty in communicating our Thoughts about some of the more vogued and fashionable Opinions, by exempting each other from the fear of ill treatment in the most sensible kind. It being too manifest that the same confident insulting Genius, which makes a Man think himself competent to be a standard to Mankind, would also make him impatient of Dissent, and tempt him to do worse, than reproach one that differs from him, if it were in his power. And the club or faggot Arguments must be expected to take place, where what he thinks rational ones did not do the Business.

He declares, that the perusal of *these very Considerations*, gave him more confidence about his Hypothesis, than he allow'd himself before, finding that the sagacious Author of
 †
 them,

them, of whose Abilities and Industry together he really had that opinion, as to count him the most likely to confute it of all the modern *Antitrinitarians*, had no other way to deal with it, than first both partially and invidiously to represent it; and then rather to trifle than argue against it. And after freely discoursing about the delicious Society the Divine Hypostases are suppos'd to have with each other; about the Union of the sensitive, vegetative and intellectual Natures in Man, and the Union also of Soul and Body; about the Union of intelligent Beings; about Heresy, Infinite and Infinitude, Essential and Substantial Unions, &c. he declares he did not find that that Writer had any thing of Argument in his Discourse, which had not been before considered in the Discourse he had had with the Considerator; and therefore he takes his leave, and wrote no more upon the Argument.

Mr. *Howe* as well as others, in this case, met with very different treatment from several Persons, according to their different Notions. He was the more respected by some, upon the account of what he publish'd on this Subject, while others that greatly valu'd his other Writings, wish'd he had left this Argument untouched, and kept his thoughts to himself: And some out of the abundance of their Zeal for Orthodoxy, could scarce forbear charging him as well as Dean *Sherlock* with downright Heresy.

To

To whom I shall make no other return, than in the Words of Bishop *Stillfleet*, in his Preface to his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*. * *There is a kind of bitter Zeal, which is so fierce and violent, that it rather inflames than heals any Wounds that are made; and is of so malignant a Nature, that it spreads and eats like a Cancer, and if a stop were not given to it, it might endanger the whole Body.* May such a Zeal as this never prevail among us: And if it has already got any footing, the Good Lord grant it may be heartily and speedily repented of, and shaken off, and laid aside. *Amen.*

But it seems necessary I should add somewhat upon another Subject, which also made a great Noise in the latter part of this good Man's Life, and that is the business of *Occasional Conformity*.

Mr. *Howe* had all along from his first quitting his Church, upon the taking place of the *Act of Uniformity*, carry'd himself with great Calmness and Moderation, and had openly declar'd for this *Occasional Conformity*, before communicating with the establish'd Church was a necessary Qualification for a place in the Magistracy; and it was the same also as to a number of his Brethren: And yet when the

* Pag. 43.

chief Magistrate in the City of *London* had carry'd the Regalia to a Dissenting Congregation, it occasion'd no small clamour; and when a little after Sir *Thomas Abney*, who was a worthy Member of Mr. *Howe's* Congregation (than whom none ever fill'd the Chair of the City with greater Honour) went publickly to worship God (in 1701, which was the Year of his Mayoralty) sometimes in the establish'd Church, and sometimes among the Dissenters, a Pamphlet was publish'd, intitled, *An Inquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters*; in which this Practice was represented as very scandalous, and a Preface was prefix'd to Mr. *Howe*, in which he was call'd on either to vindicate it, or declare against it. Mr. *Howe* did not much care to enter upon an Argument of that nature with one of so warm a Temper as the Author of that *Inquiry*, and contented himself with a short return to him in a small Pamphlet, that was entitled, *Some Consideration of a Preface to an Inquiry concerning the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters*: in which he tells the *Prefacer*, that he for a long time had had an habitual aversion in his own Mind, from perplexing himself, or disturbing others, by being concern'd in agitating the Controversies that have been on foot about the Circumstantials of Religion. That he had contented himself, by the best means he could be furnish'd with, and the best use

God

God enabled him to make of them, so far to form and settle his own Judgment, as was necessary to his own Practice. That he had faithfully follow'd his Judgment, and abstain'd in the mean time from censuring others, who took a different way from him. That he was sensible every one must give Account of himself to God: And that it is a great Consolation to such as sincerely fear God, that if with upright Minds they principally study to approve themselves to him, and if they mistake, do only err for fear of erring; he will not with severity animadvert upon the infirmity of a weak and merely misguided Judgment: And that it is a sure Truth, worth all this World, that to an honest unbiass'd Heart, 'tis a far easier thing to please God, than Men. That they that contend fervently, and conclude positively concerning Church-Power, &c. often discover more Confidence than Knowledge or solid Judgment; and much oftner little of the Spirit of Christ and the Gospel.

He further tells the *Prefacer*, that before he had offer'd at ingaging him in this Quarrel, he ought to have been well assur'd, that he did really concern himself to advise one way or other, as to the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of that *Occasional Conformity*, about which he contended; or at least that he ought to have done so: But that not being able to make either of these appear, he had

been guilty of an Affectation of intermeddling beyond any Call he had, that could lead him to it. That he had pretended to judge in a matter he had nothing to do with ; and that he had taken upon him to invade the Throne of the most High, in charging the worthy Person refer'd to, with acting against his Conscience. He tells him, that before he concluded that with so rash Confidence, he ought to have been able to prove the Act in its Circumstance unlawful. And his making use of that Text, about *following God or Baal*, as if the God of the Dissenters and of the establish'd Church, differ'd as *the Living God and Baal*, he tells him was profane and impious Wit. And he at last adds, that the Person by him criminated, might, notwithstanding any thing he had said, be in the right ; but that if the Prefacer's Judgment upon the Case was true, he conceiv'd that that Truth, accompany'd with his Temper of Spirit, was much worse than the other's Error. And some time after, he drew up, and there was found among his remaining Papers,

A Letter to a Person of Honour, partly representing the Rise of *Occasional Conformity*, and partly the Sense of the present *Nonconformists*, about their yet continuing Differences from the *Establish'd Church*.

†

My

My Lord,

‘ **T**IS well known to such as have un-
 ‘ derstood the state of Religion in this
 ‘ Kingdom, since the beginning of the Re-
 ‘ formation, that there have been very diffe-
 ‘ rent Sentiments about the Degrees of that
 ‘ Reformation it self. Some have judg’d the
 ‘ Church with us so insufficiently Reform’d,
 ‘ as to want as yet the very being of a true
 ‘ Christian Church; and wherewith they
 ‘ therefore thought it unlawful to have any
 ‘ Communion at all. Of whom many there-
 ‘ upon in the severall successive Reigns, with-
 ‘ drew themselves into foreign Parts, for the
 ‘ Enjoyment of the Liberty of such Wor-
 ‘ ship, as they judg’d more agreeable to the
 ‘ Word of God.

‘ There have been also no inconsiderable
 ‘ Numbers, in former and later times, that
 ‘ tho not intirely satisfy’d with our Reforma-
 ‘ tion, were less severe in their Judgment
 ‘ concerning the Constitution and Practice of
 ‘ the establish’d Church; that is, did not
 ‘ judge its Reformation so defective, that
 ‘ they might not communicate at all with it,
 ‘ nor so compleat, but that they ought to
 ‘ covet a Communion more strictly agreeable
 ‘ to the Holy Scripture; and accordingly ap-
 ‘ prehended themselves to lie under a twofold
 ‘ Obligation of Conscience in reference here-
 ‘ to.

1. Not by any means, totally to cut themselves off on the one hand from the Communion of the establish'd Church, in which they found greater and more momentous things to be approv'd of and embrac'd with great Reverence and Complacency, (*viz.* all the true noble Essentials of Christian Religion, not subverted as among the Romanists by any contrary Doctrines or Practices) than could be pretended to remain the matter of their disapprobation and dislike.

2. Nor on the other hand, to decline other Communion, which to the Judgment of their Conscience appear'd, in some considerable Circumstances, more agreeable to the Christian Rule, and to their Experience more conducing to their spiritual Advantage and Edification.

Which latter Judgment of theirs (whether it self justifiable or no, we are not now considering) hath been with many so fix'd and inflexible, that in several successive Reigns, great numbers of such Persons, who we had no Reason to apprehend had any thought totally to abandon the establish'd Church, yet thought themselves oblig'd besides, to seek and procure opportunities for such other Communions, even with extreme Peril not only to their Estates and Libertys, but to their very Lives themselves.

They

‘ They could not therefore but think both
 ‘ these sorts of Communion Lawful, *viz.*
 ‘ whereto they might adjoin, but not con-
 ‘ fine themselves.

‘ And tho to that former sort of Commu-
 ‘ nion, there hath for many Years by past,
 ‘ been superadded the accidental Considera-
 ‘ tion of a Place or Office attainable hereby,
 ‘ no Man can allow himself to think, that
 ‘ what he before counted lawful, is by this
 ‘ supervening Consideration become unlawful:
 ‘ especially if the Office were such, as was in
 ‘ no manner of way to be an Emolument,
 ‘ but rather an Occasion of greater Expence
 ‘ to the undertaker of it; that is, only en-
 ‘ abled him to serve God, the Government
 ‘ and his Country, being regularly call’d
 ‘ hereto, in the condition of a Justice of
 ‘ Peace, or otherwise. In which capacity it
 ‘ is notorious that divers Persons of eminent
 ‘ Note of this Persuasion, (and some in higher
 ‘ Stations) have within the space of forty
 ‘ Years past and upwards, been serviceable
 ‘ to the Publick in divers Parts of the Nation.

‘ It is not indeed to be thought that the
 ‘ Judgment and Practice of such Men, can
 ‘ be throughout approv’d by our Reverend
 ‘ Fathers and Brethren of the establish’d
 ‘ Church, as neither can we pretend it to be
 ‘ so universally by our selves. But we are re-
 ‘ mote from any the least suspicion, that Per-
 ‘ sons of so excellent Worth and Christian

‘ Temper, as now preside over the establish’d
‘ Church, can suffer themselves to judge or
‘ censure Men of this Sentiment, as being
‘ for this single Reason, Men of hypocritical
‘ and insincere Minds ; but that they will ra-
‘ ther think it possible their Understandings
‘ may be impos’d upon, so as this may be
‘ the Judgment, in the whole, of a sincere
‘ tho misinform’d Conscience.

‘ For when they apprehend this Church,
‘ having all the essential Parts of Christian
‘ Religion, has not, by adding some much
‘ disputed things, that are not pretended to
‘ be any parts thereof (but that are become
‘ as necessary to Communion with it, as any
‘ the most essential part) thereby unchurch’d
‘ it self, but that they may hold Communion
‘ with it ; yet they do not see that they
‘ ought to appropriate their Communion to
‘ it, so as to refuse all other Communion,
‘ where the same Essentials of Christian Re-
‘ ligion are to be found without those Addi-
‘ tions which really belong not to it ; they
‘ are apt to think such Sentiments of theirs,
‘ not to be altogether destitute of some plau-
‘ sible Ground.

‘ However, among those that are not in-
‘ tirely in every Punctilio of this Church, it
‘ hath not any so firm Friends, or that are
‘ so nearly united in Judgment and Affection
‘ with it, as Men of this Sentiment.

‘ We

‘ We for our parts (who because in some
 ‘ things we conform not, are called *Noncon-*
 ‘ *formists*, whereas no Man conforms in every
 ‘ thing) are not allow’d to be counted Mem-
 ‘ bers of this Church, by those that take
 ‘ Denominations, not from the intimate Ef-
 ‘ fentials of things (as sameness of Doctrine,
 ‘ and the Institutions of Christian Worship)
 ‘ but from loose and very separable Acci-
 ‘ dents: Yet thanks be to God, we are not
 ‘ so stupid, as not to apprehend we are under
 ‘ stricter and much more sacred Obligations,
 ‘ than can be carried under the sound of a
 ‘ Name, to adhere to those our Reverend
 ‘ Fathers and Brethren of the establish’d Church,
 ‘ who are most united among themselves, in
 ‘ Duty to God and our Redeemer, in Loyal-
 ‘ ty to our Sovereign, and in Fidelity to the
 ‘ Protestant Religion, as with whom in this
 ‘ dubious state of Things we are to run all
 ‘ hazards, and to live and die together.
 ‘ Whether they can have the same Assurance,
 ‘ both from Interest and Inclination of Mind,
 ‘ concerning all that are of the same external
 ‘ Denomination with themselves, they need
 ‘ not us to advise with.

‘ We have our yet depending lesser Differ-
 ‘ ences, about which we have (notwith-
 ‘ standing whatsoever Provocation) been
 ‘ generally, and for the most part silent; and
 ‘ see not in reference to them, what can far-
 ‘ ther remain, than that we for our part, do
 ‘ consider,

‘ consider, that all Minds are not turn’d the
 ‘ same way ; that such from whom we dissent,
 ‘ no farther differ from us, than we do from
 ‘ them ; and we are therefore no more to won-
 ‘ der at them, than our selves.

‘ And we cannot disallow our selves to
 ‘ hope, that our Reverend Fathers and Bre-
 ‘ thren will conceive of us as humbly Dis-
 ‘ senting from them, without diminution of
 ‘ that great Reverence which their real Worth
 ‘ claims from us, and without arrogating any
 ‘ thing unduly to our selves on that account.
 ‘ For tho we cannot avoid thinking we are
 ‘ in the right, in those particular things where-
 ‘ in we differ, yet at the same time we know
 ‘ our selves to be far excell’d by them, in
 ‘ much greater and more important things.

My Honoured Lord,

Your Lordship’s

Most Obedient

Humble Servant,

J. H.

But after this, some gave themselves a
 strange Liberty of inveighing against this Prac-
 tice of *Occasional Communion*, as irrational,
 unchristian, and altogether unaccountable,
 and self-condemning. And it at length be-
 came

came a Question, whether they that could at all and in any Case worship God with *the Church of England*, should not be oblig'd to do it for a Constancy, or else be incapacitated from holding any Place either of Profit or Trust? And when things were come to this pass, and the *Occasional Bill* was first brought into the House of Commons in 1702, Mr. *Howe* committed his thoughts to Writing in the following Paper.

A C A S E.

TWO sorts of Christian Assemblys are wont to meet, severally, for the Worship of God, which both hold all the same Articles of Doctrine taught by Christ or his Apostles; and use the same Institutions of Worship appointed by them: Only they differ in this, that the one sort use also some Rites, not so appointed, which the other use not.

Two Gentlemen, Sir T—— and Sir J——, are of equal Estates: But Sir T—— lives not so regularly, more seldom comes to the Worship of God in any Christian Assembly; yet when he doth, resorts only to one of the former sort.

Sir J—— is a sober virtuous Person, of approved Piety, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and who publickly worships God, sometimes in the one sort of Assembly, and sometimes in the other.

‘ The Question is not, whether some leud
 ‘ and vitious Persons may not frequent both
 ‘ sorts of Assemblys; nor whether some so-
 ‘ ber and pious Persons may not frequent
 ‘ those of the former sort only.

‘ But whether Sir J—— ought to be ren-
 ‘ dred incapable of serving the Government,
 ‘ (to which he hath constantly express’d him-
 ‘ self well affected) in any station Civil or
 ‘ Military, for this single Reason, because he
 ‘ sometimes worships God in Assemblys of
 ‘ the latter sort; (whether it be his infelicity,
 ‘ ill humour, or mistake whereof yet he is
 ‘ not convinc’d :) while Sir T—— (who is
 ‘ as little convinc’d of his ill Life) is left ca-
 ‘ pable? At least if the one be incapable,
 ‘ should not both?

‘ But if the Question be determin’d the o-
 ‘ ther way, Monstrous! How will that De-
 ‘ termination of an *English* Parliament stand
 ‘ in the Annals of future Time! How will
 ‘ wiser Posterity blush they had such Proge-
 ‘ nitors! For can it be suppos’d, a Nation
 ‘ will be always drunk? Or if ever it be
 ‘ sober, will it not be amaz’d, there ever was
 ‘ a time, when a few Ceremonies, of which
 ‘ the best thing that ever was said was that
 ‘ they were indifferent, have enough in them
 ‘ to outweigh all Religion, all Morality, all
 ‘ intellectual Endowments, natural or acqui-
 ‘ red, which may happen in some Instances
 ‘ to be on the wrong side, (as it must now be
 ‘ reckon’d)

reckon'd) when on the other, is the height of Profaneness, and scorn at Religion; the depth of Debauchery and Brutality, with half a Wit, hanging between Sense and Nonsense: Only to cast the Ballance the more creditable way, there is the skill to make a Leg, to dance to a Fiddle, nimbly to change Gestures, and give a loud Response, which contain the Answer for the Villanies of an impure Life!

If those little pieces of Church-modishness have so much in them of real Value, in all these are they not well enough paid by the whole Church Revenues of *England*, without stigmatizing every body that so much admires them not?

And while divers of real Worth live upon Charity, some with difficulty getting, others (educated to Modesty) with greater difficulty begging their Bread!

But do those who are not contented to ingross all the legal Emoluments, think there is no God in Heaven, that knows their large Promises, at the beginning of this Revolution, of great Abatements in their Church Constitution; when now, without abating one Hair, they must have all conform to it in every Punctilio, or be (as much as in them is) made infamous, and the scorn of the Nation?

But

But I draw a Veil, and am not for dilating upon this matter.

I shall only add, that as the Dissenters have been considerable Losers, as to their Interest as a Party, by this *Occasional Conformity*, and might easily from the first foresee that they should be so, they appear to me to have acted a very generous part in practising and defending it: And yet they have met with most unbrotherly treatment on this Account from those to whom they were willing to approach as near as they could, while some have run them down upon this Account as perfect Hypocrites; and others have represented this *Occasional Conformity* as no commendable Charity, as long as they did not come up to constant Conformity, and yield the Cause to them intirely. If this is doing as Men would be done unto, it is very strange! Posterity 'tis to be hop'd will judge more favourably. However after such Treatment, so oft repeated, and so long continu'd, if the Dissenters should for the future be more sparing in this way of shewing their Charity, which they to whom they would express it, seem so resolv'd to misinterpret, I think it cannot be very surprizing: And if it should be attended with any ill Consequences, I doubt these Gentlemen will find they must lie at their Doors, at last.

But

But by this time, when that little Charity that we had remaining among us was just expiring, Mr. *Howe* began to be weary of Living. He had seen enough of the World, to discern how unfit a place it was to continue to dwell in. He wanted to breathe in nobler Air, and inhabit better Regions. And we shall soon see how he fled thither, when we have touch'd on those Works of his, that have been hitherto unmention'd, the Account of which stands thus.

In 1690 he publish'd a Funeral Sermon for Mrs. *Esther Sampson*, late Wife of *Henry Sampson*, Dr. of Physick, who dy'd Nov. 24. 1689, from *Luke XIII. 16.*

In 1695 a Discourse relating to the much lamented Death, and solemn Funeral, of our incomparable and most gracious Queen *Mary*, of most Blessed Memory; Dedicated to the Right Honourable *Rachel Lady Russel.*

In 1698 a Sermon on the much lamented Death of that Reverend and Worthy Servant of Christ, Mr. *Richard Adams*, M. A. sometime Fellow of *Brazen-Nose* College in *Oxon*; afterwards Minister of *St. Mildreds Bread-street*, *London*: more lately Pastor of a Congregation in *Southwark*, who deceased Feb. 7. 1697.

The same Year also, he printed a Sermon preach'd on the Day of Thanksgiving, Dec. 2. 1697: And another to the Societys for Reformation

Reformation of Manners, from *Rom. XIII. 4.*

In 1699, he printed a Funeral Sermon for that Reverend and most laborious Servant of Christ in the Work of the Ministry, Mr. *Matthew Mead*, who deceased *Octob. 16.* this Year, which is dedicated to the Lord and Lady *Haversham*. The same Year also came out another Discourse of his, concerning *the Redeemer's Dominion over the invisible World, and the entrance thereinto by Death*: Preach'd on the Occasion of the Death of *John Hoghton Esq;* eldest Son of Sir *Charles Hoghton* of *Hoghton Tower* in the County of *Lancaster* Bart. And soon after, came out the Funeral Sermon of the Reverend Dr. *William Bates*, dedicated to his Grace the Duke of *Bedford*.

In 1701, he printed a twofold Discourse of *Man's Enmity against God, and Reconciliation between God and Man*, from *Col. I. 21.*

In 1702, he publish'd the second Part of *the Living Temple*, containing Animadversions on *Spinoza*, and a *French* Writer pretending to confute him; with a Recapitulation of the former Part, and an Account of the Destitution and Restitution of God's Temple amongst Men; which is dedicated to *William Lord Pagett*, Baron of *Beaufort* in the County of *Stafford*. The same Year, he also publish'd a Sermon at the Funeral of Mr. *Peter Vink*, B. D.

On

On Nov. 5. 1703, he preach'd a Sermon on *Colos. I. 13.* which he afterwards printed.

And the last thing he publish'd, was a Discourse of *Patience*, relating to the Expectation of *future Blessedness*, to which there was afterwards added an *Appendix*, which came out in 1705. And this was what he now had particular occasion for. For having employ'd his Time, Strength and Interest in the most valuable Services, he by this time was wasted with several Diseases, which he bore with great Patience, and a resigned submission to the Will of his heavenly Father. He discover'd no fear of dying, but even when his End drew near, was very serene and calm. He seem'd indeed sometimes to have been got to Heaven, even before he had laid aside that Mortality, which he had been long expecting to have swallowed up of Life. It was observ'd, and is I believe to this Day remember'd by some of his Flock, that in his last Illness, and when he had been declining for some time, he was once in a most affecting, melting, heavenly Frame at the Communion, and carry'd out into such a ravishing and transporting Celebration of the Love of Christ, that both he himself, and they who communicated with him, were apprehensive he would have expir'd in that very Service. And tho Nature was considerably spent in him, yet was there somewhat even in the manner of his dying that

Q

was

was remarkable, and worthy of Observation.

He would be very pleasant sometimes in his last Sickness, and convers'd freely with such as came to visit him; and they were many of all Ranks. Among the rest *Richard Cromwel*, (who was now grown old, and had liv'd many Years retir'd from the World, since the time when Mr. *Howe* was his domestick Chaplain) hearing that he was going off the Stage, came to make him a respectful Visit, and take his Farewel of him before he dy'd. There was a great deal of serious Discourse between them. Tears were freely shed on both sides, and the Parting was very solemn, as I have been inform'd by one that was present upon the occasion. Many elder and younger Ministers also frequently visited him, and he was very free in Discourse with them, and talk'd like one of another World, and that had rais'd and uncommon Hopes of that Blessedness there, which his Heart had long been set upon.

Having been very bad one Evening, and being by the next Morning unexpectedly recruited, he was visibly chearful: which being taken notice of by those that were about him, he said he was for feeling that he was alive; and yet he was most willing to die, and lay that Clog (as he call'd his Body) aside. Of this there is this plain Proof, that he once told his Wife, that tho he thought he lov'd her,
as

as well as it was fit for one Creature to love another, yet if it were put to his Choice, whether to die that Moment, or to live that Night, and the living that Night would secure the continuance of his Life for seven Years to come, he declar'd he would choose to die that Moment. Being at last quite worn out, he finish'd his Course with Joy, *April 2. 1705*, and was translated into the calm and peaceable Regions of the Blessed above, where nothing but perfect Charity and Serenity reign for ever.

He was interr'd in the Parish Church of *St. Alballows Breadstreet*: and his Funeral Sermon was preach'd *April 8.* by his great Admirer, and most respectful Fellow-Labourer, *Mr. John Spademan*, from *2 Tim. III. 14.*

Some time after his Decease, my good Friend *Mr. George Hughes* of *Canterbury*, wrote to *Dr. George Howe*, the eldest Son of his deceased Uncle, desiring an Account from him of what Manuscripts *Mr. Howe* had left behind him, or any particularitys that were fit to be communicated to one so nearly related to him, and that had so great Respect and Value for his Memory. The Doctor return'd him an Answer in the following words:

S I R,

I AM extremely concern'd that some time before my honoured Father's Decease, I was utterly disabled to reap the Ad-

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vantage

' vantage my self, and communicate it to
 ' Friends, of the large Memorials he had col-
 ' lected, of the material Passages of his own
 ' Life, and of the Times wherein he liv'd,
 ' which he most industriously conceal'd, till
 ' his last Illness, when having lost his Speech,
 ' which I thought he would not recover, he
 ' surprizingly call'd me to him, and gave me
 ' a Key, and order'd me to bring all the Pa-
 ' pers (which were stitch'd up in a multitude
 ' of small Volumes) and made me solemnly
 ' promise him, notwithstanding all my reluc-
 ' tance, immediately to destroy them, which
 ' accordingly I did; and have left me no o-
 ' ther of his Writings, but his short Sermon
 ' Notes, excepting some Passages in the Fron-
 ' tispiece of the Bible he us'd in his Study,
 ' which I here transmit to you, and know it
 ' will be very acceptable. I am sorry I can
 ' give no farther Account, but that is a *mag-*
 ' *num in parvo, &c.*

I am,

Your sincerely affectionate Kinsman,

and humble Servant,

George Howe.

The

The Transcript from the blank Page in Mr. *Howe's* Bible, which the foregoing Letter refers to, was in these words following, which were written with his own Hand; and they yet remain there.

Dec. 26. 89. Quum diu apud me seriò
 ‘ recogitarem, præter certum & indubium Af-
 ‘ sensum rebus Fidei adhibendum, necessarium
 ‘ insuper esse vivificum quendam earundem
 ‘ Gustum & Saporem, ut majori cum vi & ef-
 ‘ ficacia in ipsissima Cordis Penetralia sese in-
 ‘ fererent; ibidemque altiùs infixæ, Vitam eo
 ‘ potentiùs regerent; neque aliter de bono
 ‘ Deum versus statu conclusum iri, sive sanum
 ‘ Judicium posse ratum haberi; cumque pro
 ‘ Concione, 2 *Cor.* 1. 12. fusiùs tractassem,
 ‘ hoc ipso mane ex hujus modi somnio dul-
 ‘ cissimo, primò evigilavi: Mirum scilicet a
 ‘ superno Divinæ Majestatis folio coelestium
 ‘ Radiorum Profluvium in apertum meum
 ‘ hiansque pectus, infusum esse videbatur.

‘ Sæpiùs ab illo insigni die, memorabile il-
 ‘ lud Pignus divini Favoris, grato animo re-
 ‘ colui, atque dulcedinem ejusdem iterum at-
 ‘ que iterum degustavi.

‘ Quæ autem *Octob. 22. 1704.* id genus
 ‘ miranda Dei mei benignitate, & suavissima
 ‘ Spiritus Sancti operatione percepi, omnium
 ‘ verborum quæ mihi suppetit copiam, plane
 ‘ superant! Perquam jucundam Cordis emol-

‘ litionem expertus sum, fufis præ gaudio
 ‘ Lachrymis, quod Amor Dei per Corda
 ‘ diffunderetur, mihiq̃ue ſpeciatiim donato in
 ‘ hunc finem Spiritu ſuo. *Rom. 5. 5.*

For the ſake of ſuch Readers as underſtand not the Latin Tongue, I ſhall add a Tranſlation of theſe memorable Paſſages, made by Mr. *John Spademan*, than whom none ever more eſteem’d and valu’d the Author of them.

‘ *Dec. 26. 89.* After that I had long, ſe-
 ‘ riouſly, and repeatedly thought with my
 ‘ ſelf, that beſides a full and undoubted Aſſent
 ‘ to the Objects of Faith, a vivifying ſavory
 ‘ Taſte and Reliſh of them was alſo neceſſary,
 ‘ that with ſtronger Force and more power-
 ‘ ful Energy, they might penetrate into the
 ‘ moſt inward Center of my Heart, and there
 ‘ being moſt deeply fix’d and rooted, govern
 ‘ my Life; and that there could be no o-
 ‘ ther ſure Ground whereon to conclude and
 ‘ paſs a ſound Judgment, on my good Eſtate
 ‘ Godward; and after I had in my Courſe of
 ‘ Preaching been largely inſiſting on 2 Cor.
 ‘ 1. 12. *This is my rejoicing, the Teſtimony*
 ‘ *of a good Conſcience, &c.* This very Morn-
 ‘ ing I awoke out of a moſt raviſhing and
 ‘ delightful Dream, that a wonderful and co-
 ‘ pious Stream of Celeſtial Rays, from the
 ‘ lofty Throne of the Divine Maſteſty, did
 ‘ ſeem to dart into my open and expanded
 ‘ Breſt.

‘ Breast. I have often since with great Com-
‘ placency reflected on that very signal Pledge
‘ of special divine Favour vouchsaf’d to me
‘ on that noted memorable Day ; and have
‘ with repeated fresh Pleasure tasted the De-
‘ lights thereof. But what of the same kind I
‘ sensibly felt through the admirable Bounty
‘ of my God, and the most pleasant comfort-
‘ ing influence of the Holy Spirit, on Oct.
‘ 22. 1704. far surpass’d the most expressive
‘ words my thoughts can suggest. I then
‘ experienc’d an inexpressibly pleasant melting
‘ of Heart, Tears gushing out of mine Eyes,
‘ for Joy that God should shed abroad his Love
‘ abundantly through the Hearts of Men,
‘ and that for this very purpose mine own
‘ should be so signally possess’d of and by his
‘ blessed Spirit. *Rom. 5. 5.*

His Introduction or Preface to his *Last Will and Testament* is peculiarly solemn, and a noble Confession of his Faith. It runs thus :

‘ I *John Howe*, Minister of the Gospel of
 ‘ Christ, in serious Consideration (tho through
 ‘ God’s Mercy in present Health) of my frail
 ‘ and mortal State, and chearfully waiting
 ‘ (blessed be God) for a seasonable unfeared
 ‘ Dissolution of this my earthly Tabernacle,
 ‘ and translation of the inhabiting Spirit, in-
 ‘ to the merciful Hands of the great God,
 ‘ Creator, Lord of Heaven and Earth,
 ‘ whom

' whom I have taken to be my God, in and
 ' with his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ,
 ' who is also over all God blessed for ever,
 ' and my dear and glorious Redeemer and
 ' Lord: With and by the Holy Spirit of
 ' Grace, my Light, Life, and Joy; relying
 ' intirely and alone, upon the free and rich
 ' Mercy of the Father, vouchsaf'd on the Ac-
 ' count of the most invaluable Sacrifice and
 ' perfect Righteousness of the Son, applied
 ' unto me, according to the Gospel-Covenant,
 ' by the Spirit, for the Pardon of the many
 ' seriously repented Sins of a very faulty fruit-
 ' less Life, and the acceptance of my Person,
 ' with my sincere, tho weak desires and en-
 ' deavours to do him service in this World,
 ' especially as my Calling, wherewith he
 ' graciously honour'd me, did more particu-
 ' larly require, in promoting the Welfare
 ' and Salvation of the precious Souls of
 ' Men.

Besides his foremention'd Works, he wrote
 also several Prefaces to the Works of others;
 as to Mr. *Chorlton's* Funeral Sermon for Mr.
Henry Newcome of *Manchester*; to the
 third Volume of Dr. *Manton's* Sermons, by
 way of Dedication to King *William*, in 1689;
 to Mr. *Flavel's* Discourse of *Mental Er-*
rors, &c.

But

But I know not how to close my Account of this Excellent Person without adding somewhat as to his Character, tho I am very sensible it cannot easily be given. It must have something in it that is very great and peculiar, or it will not be just. For my part, I am far from thinking good Mr. *Spademan* at all exceeded, when he represented him as one, who had *received from the Father of Lights, so great a variety of both natural and christian Perfections, that he was not only a shining Light and Ornament of his Age, but an inviting Example of Universal Goodness* †. That God gave him an uncommon skill in the *Word of Righteousness*; and that he had peculiar Advantages for understanding the Oracles of God; a large Fund of natural Endowments, improv'd by superadded Preparatives unto the study of the Scriptures; a rich Treasure of human Learning, particularly a thorow Knowledge of Pagan Theology, by which he was enabled to descry the shortness and mistakes of human Reason, which faculty he well understood to use in subordination unto Christian Faith, whose Mysterys he was able to free from the Objections of Cavillers.* He took care to wash the Vessel, that it might be receptive of Divine Communications. And to these he added unwearied Di-

† Dedication of his Funeral Sermon for him, p. 1.

* Funeral Sermon, pag. 15, &c.

ligence, Humility and Prayer, which was the Delight and Solace of his whole Life. He unfeignedly sought God's Glory, and the good of the Souls of Men. He was impartial and faithful in reprov'g of Sin, without respect of Persons; easy of access and condescending to the lowest; and indeed became all things to all, that he might gain the more. And ready to assist all the necessitous and distressed, that he had opportunity of doing good unto. He was furnish'd with fortitude of Mind, able to encounter the most grievous Sufferings; and an eminent Example of a truly Christian Patience, under very sharp Afflictions. And he finish'd his Course with uncommon Joy: and few ever more experienc'd a Divine Peace and serenity of Mind, at the nearest approaches of Death.

As to his Person, he was very tall, and exceeding graceful. He had a good Presence, and a piercing but pleasant Eye; and there was that in his Looks and Carriage, that discover'd he had something within that was uncommonly great, and tended to excite Veneration. His intellectual Accomplishments were eminent. He was one of great Abstractedness of Thought, a strong Reasoner, and one that had a very penetrating Judgment, which carry'd him as deep into a Subject, as most Men ever went that handled it. He had bright natural Parts, and they were greatly improv'd by Study and Experience. He had
an

an admirable way of thinking upon any Subject that offer'd; and many times very surprizing Turns in discoursing upon it.

Even Mr. *Wood* the *Oxonian* himself, who very seldom has a word to say in favour of a Nonconformist, when he comes to Mr. *Howe*, is so unusually complaisant to him, as to own that he was a *Person of neat and polite Parts*, † and *moderate and calm in the smaller matters that were under debate between the Church and his Party*. I'm afraid, if he had seen some of the things here publish'd, he would have retracted the latter part at least of this fair Character he gave him. Nay, and he goes so far as to commend his *Style* too, which he says is *fine, smooth, and natural*. But here I doubt many will think his good Humour has carry'd him too far, and tempted him to strain a point; his *Style* (as great a Man as he was) being very commonly objected against, and thought the most liable to exception of any thing in his Performances. Nor is this his case alone; for Bishop *Fell* in his *Life of Dr. Hammond*, who was certainly a very great Man, says that that learned Doctor's *Style* was *incumbred with Parentheses, which made it difficult to vulgar Understandings*. Several have been of the same Opinion with respect to the *Style* of Mr. *Howe*, which Mr. *Wood* men-

† *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. 2. pag. 1014.

tions with so particular an Encomium. We may bear with such a Commendation of one of his Character, it being a thing so uncommon with that Author. But methinks it looks a little ill-natur'd, immediately upon his speaking so favourably of one, to pour such Contempt on the rest of his Persuasion, who he says are *most of them of sour and unpleasant converse*. It may be they were not to his Gust: which is the less to be wondered at, since he was so little to theirs. But this might well enough have been spar'd, seeing it was not thus with Mr. *Howe*, of whom he was now writing; for he was generally chearful, and inoffensively pleasant.

His Ministerial Qualifications were singular. He could preach off hand with as great Exactness, as many others upon the closest study. He deliver'd his Sermons without Notes; tho he did not impose that method upon others. He had great copiousness and fluency in Prayer; and the hearing him discharge that Duty upon particular sudden Emergencys, would have been apt to have made the greatest Admirer of stinted Forms, asham'd of the common Cavils and Objections against that which is usually call'd extemporary Prayer. He was an excellent Casuist, and would clearly solve the greatest Difficulties that Practice was concern'd in. And tho in his Sermons, there was often an uncommon Depth, especially at the beginning, yet he took care to become plainer

plainer in the sequel ; and before he concluded, generally came with great Pungency home to the Consciences of his Hearers ; so that they must be greatly faulty, if they did not come away from hearing him both wiser and better.

He was one of remarkable Prudence himself, and much valu'd and commended it in others. It was a common saying with him, that he was so far from questioning whether Prudence was a Vertue, that he reckon'd Imprudence to be a great Vice and Immorality. He was not apt to be sway'd by Interest, nor could any thing byass his Judgment. And it may be said of him, as is usually said of those of the strongest Reason, the greatest Sagacity, and the noblest Accomplishments, that he was one of great Civility, Candour and Ingenuity.

He was very courteous to Strangers, or others that came to visit him, and received them with great Decency : And never could be of the mind of those that reckon Religion and Piety inconsistent with good Breeding.

He knew how to address himself suitably to the greatest Persons, without the least mixture of what was mean or servile ; and yet was able to condescend to Inferiors : And was very affable to younger Ministers, whom he would use with an easy Freedom, offering them as there was occasion the kindest Advice.

He

He was very like that eminent *German* Divine *Martin Bucer*, in the Peaceableness of his Temper, and a Willingness to accommodate Differences. He had a truly great Soul, and at the same time a very cool and moderate Spirit; and was an utter Enemy to that uncharitable and censorious Humour that is visible in so many. He did not (as appears from all his Writings) look upon Religion as a System of Opinions, or a set of Forms, so much as a divine Discipline to reform the Heart and Life. In lesser matters he could freely give others the liberty of their own Sentiments; and was as unwilling to impose, as to be impos'd upon.

He seems to have been born into this World, to support generous Principles, a truly Catholick Spirit, and an extensive Charity. He was for carefully concealing or lessening the Failings and Imperfections of others: And in that respect has admirably exemplify'd his own Temper in his printed Discourse with reference to *Charity for other Mens Sins*. But whenever he found Men impetuous in asserting their own Opinions, and peremptory in rejecting the Judgment of others, when they had taken care to set things in a due Light, and add a suitable Evidence, 'twas his way to answer with silence; not at all caring to argue with those, who instead of soberly and modestly inquiring into truth, were always for the last Word, for which (for

(for his part) he was for giving them full leave.

He was for having nothing remain as a Test or Boundary of Christian Communion, but what has its Foundation as such, in plain Reason or express Revelation. And to him may those very Words be justly apply'd, which he us'd in his Character of Dr. *Bates*, in his Funeral Sermon for him. *He was for entire Union of all visible Christians, (or Saints or Believers, which in Scripture are equivalent Terms) meaning by Christianity what is essential thereto, whether doctrinal or practical; as by Humanity we mean what is essential to Man, severing Accidents, as not being of the Essence: And by visibility, the probable appearance thereof: And for free Communion of all such, of whatsoever persuasion in extraessential matters, if they pleas'd. And this design he vigorously pursu'd as long as there was any hope; desisting when it appear'd hopeless; and resolving to wait till God should give a Spirit suitable hereto, from an apprehension that when Principles on all hands were so easily accommodable, and yet that there was with too many, a remaining insuperable Reluctancy to the thing it self, God must work the Cure and not Man. Accounting also, in the mean time, that notwithstanding misrepresentations, it was better to cast a Mantle over the failings of Brethren, than be concern'd to detect and expose them.*

them. Knowing that if we are principally sollicitous for the Name of God, he will in his own way and time take care of ours. And as Mr. Howe says in Dr. Bates's Case, so may I also say in his, in this Sentiment he was not alone.*

In many Cases he discover'd uncommon Sagacity ; I shall particularly mention one instance, the truth of which may be depended on. In King *Charles's* Reign he had it signify'd to him by several, that a certain Nobleman that was at that time great at Court, was desirous to see him. Taking an Opportunity to wait upon him, and being easily admitted, the great Man signify'd that his Visit was very acceptable, and seem'd to be willing to enter into particular freedoms with him. Among a great many other things he told him, that he was very sensible that the Dissenters were a considerable Body of People, that deserv'd regard: And that it was his apprehension that if they had a Person that was near the King, and had a good Interest at Court, that would give them hints by way of Advice for their Conduct, upon critical Emergencies, and that was able and ready to convey their Requests to his Majesty, as occasions might require, it would be much for their Advantage. And he was pleas'd to express himself in such a manner, that Mr. *Howe*

* See his Funeral Sermon on Dr. *William Bates*, towards the Close.

thought he could easily gather, that the maker of the Motion had no aversion from being the Person pitch'd upon, for the purpose mention'd. After a little pause, he made this Reply; that the Dissenters being a Religious People, he thought it highly concern'd 'em, if they fix'd upon any particular Person for that purpose, to make choice of one, that would not be ashamed of them, and whom at the same time they might have no occasion to be ashamed of: And that a Person in whom there was a concurrence of these two Qualifications was very difficult to find. And he heard no more of him. And it is with me past doubt, that they that were admitted to the knowledge of the secret History of his Life, could have recollected several such Instances, had the communicating Memoirs concerning him been sooner thought of, and attempted.

In common Conversation he was many times very pleasant and facetious. Some of his sudden Repartees were very remarkable, and deserve to be preserv'd. Being at Dinner with some Persons of good fashion, there was one Gentleman in the Company that expatiated with great freedom in praise of King *Charles* the First, and made some indecent Reflections upon others, that were not at all agreeable to several at the Table. Mr. *Howe* observing he intermix'd a great many horrid Oaths with his Discourse, took the freedom

to tell him, that in his humble opinion he had wholly omitted one very great Excellency which the Prince he had so much extoll'd, was so generally own'd to have belonging to him, that he had not known of any one that had the face to contest it. The Gentleman seem'd not a little pleas'd to have Mr. *Howe* come in as a Voucher for the Prince he applauded, and was impatient to know what that particular Excellence was that he referr'd to. And when he had press'd for it with importunity, he at length told him it was this; that he was never heard to swear an Oath in his common Conversation. The Gentleman took the Reproof, and promis'd to forbear Swearing for the future.

At another time, as Mr. *Howe* was walking along, he pass'd by two Persons of Quality, who were talking freely together, and with great eagerness; and when he came near 'em, he heard 'em damn each other most abominably: Whereupon pulling off his Hat, and saluting 'em with great Civility, he cry'd out, I pray God *save* you both; which so took with 'em, that it for the present diverted the humour they were in, and they join'd in returning him thanks.

I shall mention yet one Passage more, which I think may be depended on as related. It is this; that during the continuance of the Debates in Parliament about the Bill against *Occasional Conformity*, Mr. *Howe* walking in
St.

St. James's Park, past by a certain Noble Lord in a Chair, who sent his Footman to call him to him, for that he desir'd to speak with him. Coming up to him, the said Lord very respectfully saluted him, signify'd he was glad to see him, and entred into Discourse with him upon the matter depending, reckoning it a thing of no small Consequence, which he intimated he had oppos'd to his utmost. Among other Passages upon that occasion, he so far forgot himself, as to express himself thus: Damn these Wretches, for they are mad; and are for bringing us all into Confusion. Mr. *Howe*, who was no Stranger to the Lord who thus entertain'd him with Discourse, considering his Character, made this Reply to him: My Lord, 'tis a great satisfaction to us, who in all Affairs of this Nature desire to look upwards, that there is a God that governs the World, to whom we can leave the issues and events of things: And we are satisfy'd (and may thereupon be easy) that he will not fail in due time of making a suitable retribution to all, according to their present Carriage. And this Great Ruler of the World, my Lord, said he, has among other things also declar'd, he will make a difference between him that Sweareth, and him that feareth an Oath. My Lord was struck with his last hint, and presently reply'd, Sir, I thank you for your freedom, and take your meaning, and shall endeavour to make a good use of it. Mr. *Howe* in re-

turn said, My Lord, I have a great deal more reason to thank your Lordship, for saving me the most difficult part of a Discourse, which is the Application.

'Twould be well if more of his Letters could be recover'd.

I shall add one, by way of Condoleance to a Friend, upon the loss of an excellent Wife, which deserves to be preserv'd, in the following Words.

I Seriously lament your new Affliction, whereof I lately had the surprizing Account. And I should be the more concern'd for it, if I did not consider it hath befallen one, who can with Judgment estimate and suffer it. He hath enough to relieve him against the ungrateful Events which our present State is liable to, who is serious in the Belief of God's Universal Government over this World, and that there is another. The former of these is a Principle much abus'd by some; which no more proves it false, than the Gospel, out of which some have the mischievous skill to extract a deadly favour. It is our great Privilege, for which we ought to be thankful, that by such Arguments whereby we can most certainly demonstrate to our selves, that there is a God, we can as certainly prove that he is not an *Epicurean* God; unto which imaginary Idol only that could belong, to be disturb'd

‘ disturb’d by being concern’d about humane
 ‘ Affairs. But if he knew the true Nature of
 ‘ God better, who came forth from him into
 ‘ our World, on purpose to make him known,
 ‘ we are sufficiently assur’d, not an Hair can
 ‘ fall from our Head without him, much less
 ‘ so considerable a part of our selves.

‘ This is not the State wherein things are
 ‘ to be unexceptionably well. But we have
 ‘ cause as things are, to acknowledge, and
 ‘ adore the wisdom and goodness of Provi-
 ‘ dence, that the wickedness of the World
 ‘ hath not in so many thousand Years quite
 ‘ confounded Families, and all humane So-
 ‘ ciety long ago: But that as wise Counsel
 ‘ did first settle the Institution of those lesser
 ‘ Societys, God hath from Age to Age re-
 ‘ new’d the Impression of that part among
 ‘ others of the Law of Nature, by which
 ‘ Men are prompted as by instinct to preserve
 ‘ them; besides the positive Precept he hath
 ‘ given, setting out to each Relative, the Duty
 ‘ whereby Order is to be preserv’d in them.
 ‘ And when we know his Government ex-
 ‘ tends so low, how gladly ought we to sub-
 ‘ mit our selves to it, and allow him to deter-
 ‘ mine how long we should enjoy such Re-
 ‘ latives, as well as that there should be any
 ‘ such! For we know that they were ap-
 ‘ pointed but for this temporary state, not for
 ‘ that wherein we are to be as the Angels of
 ‘ God in Heaven, where each one hath a

' subordinate self-sufficiency, and needs not
 ' the meet helps which the exigency of this
 ' state makes so useful. And therefore the
 ' Reason as well as the Authority of such
 ' Precepts, is most intirely to be subscrib'd to,
 ' that because *the time is short, they that*
 ' *have Wives be as tho they had none; they*
 ' *that rejoice* (in having them) *as if they re-*
 ' *joiced not; they that weep* (in losing them)
 ' *as tho they wept not.* So our Affections
 ' will correspond to the Objects, which are of
 ' the same make; *for the fashion of this*
 ' *World passeth away.* And it were a gloomy
 ' thought to consider all as passing and vanish-
 ' ing, if we did not seriously believe, that
 ' it vanishes to make way for another, that
 ' shall never vanish, and that shall shortly
 ' enter in its perfect Glory, and fill up the
 ' whole Stage. Scaffolds are taken down,
 ' when the Eternal Building is finish'd.

I have also obtain'd a Copy of a Letter of
 Condoleance, to a Gentlewoman upon the
 Loss of a beloved Daughter, which runs thus.

Dear and Honour'd Madam,

' DID you think two or three Months
 ' ago, such a Trial was so near? Such
 ' sad futurities God in mercy to us, hides
 ' from us, that we may not afflict our selves,
 ' before he afflicts us: And that when he
 ' intends we should suffer that particular
 ' Afflic-

‘ Affliction but once, *viz.* when it comes,
 ‘ we may not impose so hardly upon our
 ‘ selves, as to suffer it a thousand times over,
 ‘ before it comes. *Sufficient for the Day,*
 ‘ &c. If he should have made us all Pro-
 ‘ phets, in reference to all the events of our
 ‘ time, we should bring all the Evils of every
 ‘ future Day, into every former Day; as if
 ‘ the evil of the Day were not enough for
 ‘ the Day.

‘ But tho he gives us not certain Pre-
 ‘ dictions of such Evils, lest he should tor-
 ‘ ment us, he gives forewarnings lest he
 ‘ should surprize us. He hath told us *we*
 ‘ *must all once die*, and not when: That
 ‘ *Life is a Vapour*; that *all Flesh is Grass*;
 ‘ that the beauty or *glory of it is but as*
 ‘ *the Flower of Grass*; withering things!
 ‘ He hath asserted his own Dominion over
 ‘ Lives, and over the Spirits of all Flesh as
 ‘ the God of them, to lodge and dislodge
 ‘ them, where and as he pleases. And who
 ‘ are we, that we should grudge him that Do-
 ‘ minion? or so much as wish we could have
 ‘ wrested that part of his Empire out of his
 ‘ hands? But when he afflicts, ’tis good to
 ‘ consider, what is it for? It comes not out
 ‘ of the Dust, tho it may reduce us or ours
 ‘ thither. And if our utmost search cannot
 ‘ find out a particular Cause, (wherein we
 ‘ should take heed of being too indulgent and
 ‘ partial to our selves, but should beg that

‘ what we know not he would teach us) yet
‘ we should however more earnestly endea-
‘ vour to improve the Affliction to the gene-
‘ ral end, which we may be sure he aims at;
‘ to withdraw our Minds from this present
‘ World, and state of things; to take heed
‘ of being peremtory in laying any designs
‘ that must be measured by time, and be sub-
‘ ject to the uncertainties of it; to determine
‘ nothing but with that reserve, *if God will,*
‘ *we shall do this or that*, Jam. 4. 15; to
‘ have our Minds ingulf’d and swallow’d up,
‘ not of the stream of time, but of the Ocean
‘ of Eternity; to be easily taken off from
‘ any purpose, the Scene whereof must be
‘ laid on this Earth, or lower World; to
‘ have our Hearts more intirely and more
‘ strongly set upon God, so as to be able to
‘ say, *Whom have I in Heaven or Earth be-*
‘ *sides thee?* that the true end may be gain,
‘ tho such a comfort be lost, and the particular
‘ offending Cause cannot be found.

‘ We may err, in thinking some such parti-
‘ cular Offence must be fastned upon. If it
‘ clearly can, it ought: If not, ’tis better
‘ forbear judging than mis-judge. Possibly,
‘ chastening for a particular Sin may not be
‘ in God’s design: It is not always. We
‘ may be sure it never is his principal Design
‘ in taking away one Relative from another.
‘ He made all things (principally) for him-
‘ self: He made us but secondarily for one
‘ another.

another. If his principal Design in making
 such a Creature was not to please me, his
 principal Design in taking it away was not
 to displease or afflict me. He hath his own
 greater and higher end concerning his own
 Creature, to glorify himself upon it, and by
 it, in a greater World than this. Many
 Afflictions are for Trial; and that in such
 a case is an awful thought.

The jealous God hath me now under
 Trial, how I can bear, how I can submit,
 how I can reverence his hand, how I can
 behave myself towards him when he afflicts;
 whether I will venture to contend with
 him, or be fullen and morose towards him;
 because he hath bereav'd me of a Child I
 delighted in, whether I better lov'd him or
 my Child. The Trial may be manifold; of
 my Faith, of my Patience, of my Fear of
 him, of my Love to him: And I may add,
 it may be intended for a Trial of Gratitude,
 and a mighty Trial that is. We are re-
 quir'd, *in every thing to give Thanks.*
 And Job did it, and said, *Blessed be the*
name of the Lord, when with all his Sub-
 stance he took away all his Children at
 once: *The Lord hath given, the Lord*
hath taken. The injunction, *in every*
thing give Thanks, signifies there is in e-
 very thing some matter of praise. I know
 not so immediately what was in this Case:
 but if there was what I have heard, great
 indi-

' indications of early Piety; if there were
 ' grounds to hope there was a work of Re-
 ' generation wrought, there is infinitely more
 ' matter of Thanksgiving than Complaint.
 ' What had the Life of a Child been worth
 ' without this? When better never to have
 ' been born! 'Tis a far greater thing if he
 ' have taken her as his own Child, than if
 ' he had left her to you, only as yours. If
 ' you have Faith to look into the unseen
 ' World, and behold her taken into the So-
 ' ciety of Angels, and of the Spirits of just
 ' Men made perfect, how much more hath
 ' God done for her and you, than if he had
 ' left her to your Care and Provision in this
 ' wretched World? We are told there is Joy
 ' *in Heaven for the Conversion of a Sinner*;
 ' much more for the Glorification of a Con-
 ' vert! That Joy ought to swallow up in
 ' very great part your Sorrow. The good
 ' Lord frame your Spirit suitably to these
 ' things, in whom I am

Your truly respectful Servant,

(very sensible of your Case)

Love-Lane, Aldermanbury,

Lond. Sept. 29, 94.

J. HOWE.

The

The following are two Letters to a new-married Couple, (who were Persons of Distinction) that were written on the same Sheet of Paper that was directed to the Lady, with whom Mr. *Howe* had been long well acquainted.

Most honoured Sir,

I Thankfully acknowledge the favour of your welcome Lines, which ought to be most entirely so, both upon the account of the Author, and the Matter of them. For tho my opportunity for so desirable an Acquaintance hath been but little as to the Circumstance, it hath been much as to the Substance of what I know of you, in ways that gave me greatest assurance, before I had the happiness of oral Converse with you. Nor could any thing be more grateful to me, than to read you from your own hand so related, and so well pleased (as I doubt not you will be daily more and more) with your Relation, and the other accessory Correlates, with whom God hath cast your Lot.

I believe you have much reason to bless God (who orders all things to the best advantage to such as sincerely give themselves up to his conduct) that he led you not into such a condition and state of Life as he now at length hath brought you into, before you were well acquainted with the Rules and Dutys

‘ Dutys of it, better than to need help from
 ‘ such a one as I. But among the many
 ‘ other Precepts that concern that Case, I
 ‘ dare adventure to recommend those of 1 Cor.
 ‘ 7. 29, 30, 31: And pursuantly thereto, to
 ‘ offer to your Thoughts, that this can be
 ‘ but a partial temporary felicity, and so far
 ‘ only so at all, as it is enjoy’d only as me-
 ‘ diate, and subservient to the full and final
 ‘ felicity which we are professedly seeking and
 ‘ waiting for: so far ought it to be, to op-
 ‘ pose it, or let it be an obstruction thereto.
 ‘ Which is the nature of all good things that
 ‘ have only the goodness of the means, and
 ‘ not of the end, that their goodness is vari-
 ‘ able, and by misapplication may degenerate
 ‘ into an hurtful Evil. Within the compass
 ‘ of such things is the truth of those Words
 ‘ to be confin’d; *nil prodest, quod non ledere*
 ‘ *possit idem.* It is beyond the measure of
 ‘ any created good to be universally so. That
 ‘ therefore which in its own place is a real
 ‘ Good, apply’d to the particular purpose
 ‘ which it is capable of serving, out of that
 ‘ place, and being trusted valu’d and delighted
 ‘ in beyond the measure which God and the
 ‘ nature of the thing have stated and set, may
 ‘ become an hurt to us.

‘ But there can be no greater or more en-
 ‘ dearing Obligation to use any mercy for
 ‘ God, than an habitual fixed sense of its
 ‘ having been receiv’d from him, and a deeply
 ‘ radicated and often repeated agnition of his
 ‘ Sove-

‘ Sovereign hand in ordering it to be our
 ‘ Lot, with all the Circumstances that have
 ‘ had any reference thereto. For what inge-
 ‘ nuous Heart can endure to oppose to him,
 ‘ or employ against him, the (apprehended)
 ‘ Fruit of his own Favour and Kindness? a
 ‘ pledge of his Paternal Love and Care so un-
 ‘ derstood! And therefore the greater the gift
 ‘ is (still consider’d under that strict Notion)
 ‘ the stronger is the inducement to honour
 ‘ and serve the Giver with it, and to enjoy
 ‘ according to his Prescription, what we en-
 ‘ joy not but by his vouchsafement.

‘ If to all this I should add a request to you
 ‘ to be exceeding kind to my most Dear and
 ‘ Honoured Friend, it were the greatest im-
 ‘ pertinence in all the World. For she having
 ‘ such a Temper to work upon, will make
 ‘ you so whether you will or no: And I
 ‘ might as well use Arguments to persuade a
 ‘ fragrant Flower to send forth its grateful
 ‘ Odours, when a most benign Orient Sun is
 ‘ plying it with its cherishing Morning Beams.
 ‘ Such may you long be, both of you mu-
 ‘ tually (Sun and Flower) to each other, shin-
 ‘ ing and flourishing with all the influence and
 ‘ under the continual Blessing of Heaven.
 ‘ So shall you communicate a part of that
 ‘ Joy, which I most entirely wish you, to

S I R,

*Your very faithful affectionate
 humble Servant,*

J. HOWE.

What-

‘ **W**Hatsoever leisure (most Dear and
‘ Honour’d Madam) you may suppose
‘ me to have, I had little reason to suppose
‘ —and your self to have much, from
‘ the reading of one another, to cast your
‘ Eyes upon any thing I could write. But
‘ if after this Paper shall have lain one Quar-
‘ ter of a Year somewhere near your Dressing-
‘ Box, you find it not unseasonable to be-
‘ stow a glance upon it, you will then at
‘ length find your disappointment. For it will
‘ tell you nothing but what you well knew,
‘ or might easily guess before; that having a
‘ constant most affectionate respect and ho-
‘ nour for you, I cannot but be highly
‘ pleas’d, that you are so.

‘ And methinks it should not much sur-
‘ prize you, if I farther say, I would have
‘ you somewhat to alter (or make your ex-
‘ ception to) your own Rule, and not shew
‘ the less kindness to——for that he is a mar-
‘ ried Man. This will not be strange to you,
‘ if you remember some of your last Winter
‘ Lines.

‘ After this hath made you smile a little, as
‘ that of yours did me, then think that this
‘ novelty in your Condition will neither make
‘ nor allow you to smile always, tho I hope
‘ it will add a great deal to the comfort and
‘ pleasantness of your Days.— And you may
‘ sometime have occasion to think seriously
‘ toge-

‘ together, of the sense of those words, *Luke*
 ‘ 14. 26. And always remember the subordi-
 ‘ nation that all Creature-love must be in, to
 ‘ that of the supreme Object of our Love.
 ‘ How pleasant a thing will it be to have
 ‘ Hearts united and consenting in the reso-
 ‘ lution of loving him perpetually above all,
 ‘ to whom we owe our all, and who is alto-
 ‘ gether lovely! to consult and conspire to-
 ‘ gether, how most to promote his Interest,
 ‘ and improve in acquaintance with him, and
 ‘ conformity to him. This I believe your
 ‘ Heart to be much form’d to before-hand.
 ‘ The great Care must be, that such Resolu-
 ‘ tions do not gradually languish. We find
 ‘ many are apt by unobserv’d degrees to starve
 ‘ the good Affections and Inclinations, which
 ‘ they would abhor to assassinate by a sud-
 ‘ den violence. I write securely, that such
 ‘ an intimation will by so great a kindness as
 ‘ yours, be very well taken, from

Your Ladyship’s

Most affectionate humble Servant,

J. HOWE.

The following Letter was written upon oc-
 casion of the decease of both the Parents of
 the Lady aforesaid, within about eight Months
 of each other.

Most

Most honoured dear Madam,

‘ **W** H E N I heard of your former great
‘ Loss, I was confin’d by Distemper
‘ to my Bed; and I receiv’d information of
‘ the other, when I was going a great Journey
‘ to accompany my Wife and Daughter to
‘ the *Bath*, from whence they are not re-
‘ turn’d as yet, and I came home from my
‘ Journeyings but last Week. I have not in
‘ the mean time forgot your Ladyship’s Afflic-
‘ tion, nor been without the apprehension
‘ how tender a sense your Loss of two such
‘ Parents must be accompany’d with. Nor
‘ should I now mention it, did I not appre-
‘ hend it may yet be reflected on to better
‘ purpose, than only to renew your Sorrow.
‘ And that it may, I pray you, let it be re-
‘ membred in the first place, with serious Gra-
‘ titude, (for we are requir’d *in every thing*
‘ *to give Thanks*) that God continu’d to you
‘ the comfort of such Relations so long, and
‘ for the many Mercys he made them instru-
‘ mental of to you, in your tender Years:
‘ That he vouchsaf’d to you the Blessing of
‘ so excellent an Education by their means:
‘ that you were thereby brought to know
‘ him and his Christ; that by their care you
‘ were so comfortably settled in the World,
‘ and in a Station wherein he hath given you
‘ the opportunity of being so serviceable in
‘ building up a Family for him, and of con-
‘ tributing

'tributing to the planting and propagating
 'Religion in it; and that you see so much of
 'a Blessing from Heaven upon the Plantation.
 'Your Part is that of a Mother, and you
 'have had a great Example before your Eyes.
 'That may still live, (and I doubt not will)
 'in your Mind and Heart, while the Person
 'that gave it lives in an higher Region, whi-
 'ther following such Steps, you also will be
 'translated in the fittest Season.
 'I pray for the welfare in all valuable re-
 'spects, of—your Ladyship, and all yours;
 'being in great sincerity,

Your Ladyship's

Most respectful, and

most faithful, humble Servant,

Love-Lane, Aldermanbury,
London, Sept. 5. 95.

John Howe.

The following Letter was to the same, up-
on the Death of a most hopeful Son.

Most worthily honoured Sir; with
My dearest and most honoured Lady.

'IT would be incomparably more grievous
 'to me at this time to write to you, if
 'I were under a necessity of writing nothing
 'but what were mournful and sad. The same
 'thing, if we turn it round, will be found to

S

' have

‘ have a double Aspect. That Dispensation
‘ that represents you depriv’d of an earthly
‘ Son, speaks you the Parents of a glorify’d
‘ Child, more highly dignify’d, than ’twas
‘ possible he could have been on Earth. This
‘ Post brings you greater News than if it had
‘ inform’d you your Son is created Emperor
‘ of *Germany*, or King of *France* or *Spain*.
‘ Let us speak and think of things as we be-
‘ lieve, and profess to believe. Indeed if our
‘ apprehensions of their state in the unseen
‘ World, who were true Lovers of God, have
‘ nothing of solace and pleasure in them, ’tis
‘ mere useless empty Profession they are all
‘ to be resolv’d into, and not Faith.

‘ My Heart bleeds for you, and with you
‘ both, but it can do you no good to tell
‘ you so. I believe your lovely Son unfeign-
‘ edly lov’d God: And then read the rest,
‘ 1 *Cor.* 2. 9. *James* 1. 10, 12. Of how great
‘ use might he have been in this World! But
‘ are those glorious Creatures above to whom
‘ he is now adjoin’d, unactive or unem-
‘ ploy’d? And are not their Employments
‘ more noble and sublime, according to the
‘ more enlarged capacity of their Facultys,
‘ and the higher Dignity of their State? He
‘ was born to very considerable things as
‘ your Heir: But he was begotten again to
‘ a more glorious inheritance, and the lively
‘ hope of it, 1 *Pet.* 1. 3. They that were
‘ about him, before it was possible for me to
‘ see

‘ see him, told me he was insensible, as he
 ‘ was before I heard of his Illness: But at my
 ‘ coming to him, he knew me at first sight,
 ‘ and seem’d to have the use of his Under-
 ‘ standing for nothing but Religion. He then
 ‘ spake not one misplaced Word; said he
 ‘ doubted not God was his Father, and that
 ‘ his present Affliction was from the hand of
 ‘ that Father, not of an Enemy. He desir’d
 ‘ me to pray with him, and seem’d under-
 ‘ standingly and affectionately to concur. This
 ‘ was on Lord’s-day, and the next was the
 ‘ day of his glorious Translation, near Noon,
 ‘ before I could reach him a second time.

‘ Mr. C—— came to me presently after,
 ‘ to advise with me about disposal of the Body,
 ‘ who could give no advice but in the gene-
 ‘ ral, to have it prepar’d for interment, in a
 ‘ way that might be decent, and not pro-
 ‘ fusely expensive: Not doubting but that
 ‘ there might be more particular Direction
 ‘ from your self before actual Interment sent
 ‘ to Mr. C——, &c. who is willing to take
 ‘ the Care upon him of seeing Instructions ful-
 ‘ fill’d.

‘ The Lord support you both, and abun-
 ‘ dantly bless the rest of yours. I am,

Most honoured Sir and Madam,

Your most affectionately

Sympathizing Servant

in Christ our Lord,

John Howe.

*St. John’s-street,
 Lon. Jan. 14. 98.*

Tho I have not spar'd for Pains and Application, yet I have been only able to pick up two Letters more, which were written by Mr. *Howe* to his dear and intimate Friend Mr. *Spilsbury*, which are here subjoin'd.

My Dear Brother,

‘ **H**OW hard a matter is it to keep up
 ‘ Converse at this rate? when all that
 ‘ is pleasant and gainful in it lies on one side
 ‘ only. I read thy Lines with Fruit and De-
 ‘ light; but have nothing to return of any
 ‘ Value. And if a Conscience is to be exer-
 ‘ cis'd in this sort of Traffick, or indeed but
 ‘ a tolerable Ingenuity, it cannot but occasion
 ‘ some regret, to barter away things of no
 ‘ worth for good Commodities. If I tell
 ‘ thee I live, what doth that signify? When
 ‘ Life it self is so little worth, how despicable
 ‘ is the notice of it! If I tell thee I love thee,
 ‘ thou knowest it before as to the *quod sit*;
 ‘ but for the *quid sit*, no words can express
 ‘ it; therefore the offer at it is vain. When,
 ‘ when shall we meet above! That will
 ‘ make us pure good Company, when dulness
 ‘ and sluggishness are shaken off and gone, and
 ‘ we shall be all Spirit and Life! Yet we shall
 ‘ be doing our Lord some Service here, or
 ‘ that he will accept as such, if we be sincere.
 ‘ Thou wilt be visited by a worthy Person
 ‘ e'er long, that is gone first to *Kedermister*.
 ‘ and

‘ and means after he hath seen the Son, to
‘ come to the Father.

‘ Cordial Salutations from me and mine,
‘ to thee and thine. Farewell in our Dear
‘ Lord: And still remember,

Thy entirely Affectionate,
St. John's-street,
Jan. 25. 98. J. Howe.

‘ May I once more hope to salute my dear
‘ dear Brother in this World! whether I shall
‘ or shall not, I must leave to him to whom
‘ greater, and all things must be left. Thou
‘ mayst have taken thy flight before this reach
‘ thee, but the Soul and Spirit from whence
‘ it comes may in due time, through the in-
‘ finite riches of freest Grace, and the atoning
‘ Blood of that Sacrifice which once for all
‘ was offer'd up. We come to the general
‘ Assembly, and to the Spirits of just Men
‘ made perfect, but as we come to Jesus the
‘ Mediator of the New Testament, and to the
‘ blood of sprinkling. By his own Blood he
‘ is entred into the Holy of Holys, as the
‘ Forerunner, and for us. Upon such Terms
‘ may sinful unprofitable Servants hope to en-
‘ ter, and be receiv'd under the Notion of
‘ Faithful, and as those that are graciously
‘ counted such, into the Joy of their Lord.
‘ Thou art ready to enter, and wilt shortly
‘ be adoring before the Throne: Oh with
‘ what Complacency! receiving the End of
‘ thy Faith, having fought the good fight of
‘ it!

' it ! And must thy poor Brethren left behind,
 ' sigh and groan still ? amidst their drousy
 ' Hearers, and too drousy fruitless Labours ?
 ' But I envy thee not : And those that are
 ' dearest and nearest to thee, owe thee so
 ' much as to rejoice in thy Joy, while they
 ' cannot as yet in their own, *Joh. 14. 28.*
 ' Thou art upon my Heart, if God law it
 ' good, to live and die with thee. This Day
 ' tennight thy worthy Brother *B.* and my
 ' Brother *F.* din'd with me, when thou wast
 ' most affectionately remembred ; but art no
 ' Day forgotten, by thy sincere Lover, and
 ' of all thine ; hoping and aiming (tho faint-
 ' ly) to be thy Follower,

March 18. 98.

John Howe.

' If there be Joy in Heaven for a con-
 ' verted Sinner, shall there not for a glorify'd
 ' Saint ! and the Leader and Teacher of
 ' many such ! Some that are in Glory, and
 ' others that shortly shall be ! O the Triumph
 ' at thy abundant Entrance !

Worthy Mr. *Spilsbury*, to whom this Let-
 ter was written, dy'd the 10th of *July* fol-
 lowing.

The Fragment, out of Mr. *Howe's* Notes,
 about *a particular Faith in Prayer*, which is
 taken notice of, pag. 8. contains only brief
 Hints, which he enlarg'd on in Discourse : but
 I thought it well worth preserving ; and I be-
 lieve

lieve there will be several of my Mind. It is very concise; and the Writing being a mixture of Long-hand and Short-hand, and the Ink in some places almost worn out, it is a very difficult thing to read it: But having got what assistance I could in order to the right reading it, I shall here subjoin it according to my Promise.

James V. 15. the former part. And the Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick; and the Lord shall raise him up.

It is to be inquir'd how this is to be understood and apply'd.

1. How to be understood. Where in the general we must know, it is not to be look'd upon as an universal Maxim, admitting of no Restriction or Limitation: For then Prayer might make a Man immortal, if in every Case wherein Life were in hazard, any could be procur'd to employ their Faith in Prayer on his behalf. Unless we should say, that wherever the desir'd Effect follows not, the Faith was wanting, which ought to have been exercised in the Case. To say that every Prayer that has Faith in it, shall save the Sick, is false: But that every Prayer that has this special Faith in it, shall save the Sick, is true.

That therefore we may speak the more distinctly, we must understand,

1. That there was somewhat in this matter *extraordinary*, and appropriate to that time.

2. Some-

2. Somewhat *Ordinary*, and common to all Times. We are to distinguish the one and the other.

1. There was somewhat *Extraordinary* in this matter, and appropriate to that time: And that both as to the *Faith* to be exercised, and the *Effect* thereupon.

1. As to the *Faith* to be exercised. *The Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick*: that is, in those Days, when the state of things did to the divine Wisdom make it necessary, that frequent Miracles should be wrought for the Confirmation of Christianity, Faith was necessary to be exerted in Prayer, that should according to the Tenour of the Promise made in reference to those times, ingage Omnipotency, in reference to the thing pray'd for: the Promise then was, *whatsoever ye pray, believing, ye shall receive; or it shall be done.*

2. As to the *Effect*, that also was supernatural.

Qu. But it may be said, what! universally? What work might the Disciples have made in that Case!

Ans. The Divine Power did go forth two ways.

1. In working the Faith to be exercised: And,

2. In effecting the Thing. So that the matter was always in God's own Hand. The Spirit of God could be the Author of no vain or imprudent Faith, or consequent of it.

This

This Faith of Miracles was such a fiducial recumbence on the divine Power in reference to this or that particular Work, as whereby that was by his Rule engag'd to go forth, in *saving the Sick*. This and common Faith differ, in respect of the end, and the nature of the Influence. — Not *Holy*, but *Physical*.

2. There was here also somewhat that was *Ordinary*. The Instance of *Elias* is mentioned, who ver. 17, 18. it is said, *was a Man subject to like Passions as we are, and yet he prayed earnestly that it might not rain; and it rained not on the Earth, by the space of three Years and six Months. And he pray'd again, and the Heaven gave Rain, and the Earth brought forth her Fruit.* There is somewhat from that extraordinary Case to be learnt for common use, viz. that what the Promise says to us now, we ought as confidently to believe, as they then, what it said to them.

Therefore take some Propositions, concerning the Nature and Operation of the Faith to be exercis'd in such a Case, and the way wherein Prayer ought to be manag'd and guided, so as that it may be expected to have influence in reference thereto.

1. Prayer is a great and indispensable Duty. [There is here some Reference in the Manuscript: But after the utmost search, I know not what to make of it.]

2. That therefore we must conclude, what-
T foever

soever tends to render it an impertinence, must either be false or misapply'd. For it is most plainly a great part of our Duty ; and it could not consist either with the Willdom or Truth of God, to have us injoin'd such a Duty, and have put Energy incessant into the Nature of it in vain. We must therefore resolve what is doubtful, by what is plain. It is more plain that Prayer is a Duty, and more known, than what Changes the Nature of God can admit.

3. The Argument from God's unchangeableness, would conclude as well against the Usefulness of any other Duty, that never so directly concerns our Salvation.

4. Prayer is to be consider'd, not only as a means to obtain from God what we would have, but as a becoming Homage of an intelligent Creature.

5. Whatsoever unchangeableness we can suppose in the nature of God, [here there is something added in the Manuscript which I can make nothing of ; and then it follows] and it is unreasonable he should lose his Right, by his Perfection.

6. Yet also it is to be consider'd as a means to obtain good things, *Job* 21. 15. [by which I suppose, it was intended to be intimated, that it would be very wicked Language in any, to offer to say with those whom *Job* speaks of in the Text cited ; *What is the Almighty, that we should serve him ? and what Profit*

Profit should we have, if we pray unto him?]

7. We are not to think Prayer, tho never so qualify'd, hath any proper efficacy, to move God this way or that: Not so much as instrumental.

8. It is only a Condition, upon which it seems good to God to put forth his Power.

9. It is a Condition that hath not always equally certain Connexion with the thing we pray for, or other than the Promise hath made.

10. The Promises of God are or must be understood, proportionally to the Nature of the things promised: which may be either of such a Nature, as *&c.* [Here the Sense is incomplete. I suppose that which may be meant, is, that the things which God has promis'd, may either admit, or exclude a Change. And then 'tis added] make Men immortal. [That is, I suppose, as to this present Life. And then the Manuscript goes on] Things of a variable Goodness cannot be the matter of an universal absolute Promise. Miracles, *&c.*

11. Prayer may yet be the Prayer of Faith that God will do what is best. We should not make light of this more valuable object of Faith. Suppose two Children, which is the most privileg'd. [This I apprehend refers to the Case of *Esau* and *Jacob*, so often taken notice of in Scripture.]

12. If

12. If God will do the thing, Prayer in reference to it is not vain. For perhaps he hath wisely and rightly determin'd, that he will not do it but upon trust of his being acknowledg'd. This is a great piece of his Sovereignty: His Dominion and Power over Lives. *I kill, and make alive.* q. d. God of every Life Universal Cause.

13. It is very absurd to think, it were vain to pray unless we were certain. It contradicts the nature of Prayer. For that supposes the thing in the Power of them to whom we pray, and implies a referring it to their Pleasure.

14. It must be submitted to him to judge what is most honourable for himself. It argues base Thoughts of the invisible World, to think, &c. [that is, I suppose, to think we should be able to keep People from thence at our Pleasure.]

15. What if he had said, Pray not. [I take this to be design'd for an intimation, that had Intercourse between an all-sufficient God and us, by Prayer, been prohibited, we should have been left in a very helpless and hopeless, miserable and destitute Condition]

FINIS.

Calamy, Edmund

Memoirs of the life of the Cate Rev. John Howe

London 1724

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